National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. | Without Concealment---Without Compromise. | EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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Selections.

From the Frankfort Commonwealth.

Convention

Of the Friends of Emancipation in Kentucky.

The delegates to the Convention of the friends of emancipation in Kentucky, assembled at the Capitol, in Frankfort, on Wednesday, the 25th of April, at 11 o'clock.

Mr. J. R. Thornton, of Bourbon, called the Convention to order, and proposed Col. HENRY CLAY, of Bourbon, as President of the Convention, and Henry Wingate, of Franklin, and W. P. Boon, of Jefferson, as Vice Presidents.

Frank Ballinger, of Mercer, was appointed Secretary.

Mr. Wingate suggested the propriety of prayer before the Convention proceeded further with its deliberations—whereupon.

The Rev. T. N. Ralston, of Fayette, addressed the throne of Grace.

Mr. Ballinger, the Secretary, not appearing in the hall, Mr. Bland Ballard, of Louisville, was appointed Secretary, and O. S. Poston, of Mercer, and Samuel Shy, of Fayette, as Assistant Secretaries.

On motion of Ben. Monroe, the Secretaries proceeded to call the counties, when the following delegates appeared:

Barren County.—John G. Davis, William Garnett, Joseph Glazebrook.

Bath County.—William Poynter.

Boone County.—George M. Bedinger, B. F. Bedinger, James Dinsmore, John Coleman, Thomas Roberts, John C. Green.

Bourbon County.—Col. Henry Clay, John Rootes, Thornton, Noah Spears, Daniel P. Bedinger, Eldred S. Dudley, Rev. E. P. Pratt, A. M. Brown, Elias Darnell, Henry Clay, Jr., Charles T. Garrard, W. M. O. Smith, C. G. Goss, Nathaniel P. Rogers.

Boyle County.—Rev. J. C. Young, James L. Crawford, H. J. Cowan, J. A. Jacobs, J. F. Holloway, C. Mitchell, J. M. Nichols, J. F. Hopkins.

Fayette County.—E. Oldham, M. T. Scott, Samuel Shy, C. H. Barkley, Isaac Vanmeter, Abraham Vanmeter, E. A. Dudley, C. H. Harrison, John Lutz, John Curd, Warren Outten, Rev. J. H. Breckenridge, J. M. C. Irvine, J. H. Brown, Rev. T. Ralston, Thos. Dolan, G. W. Sutton, W. D. Dillard, Samuel D. McCullough.

Franklin County.—D. C. Freeman, John J. Julian, Joseph Clarke, J. S. Schofield, Ben. Monroe, A. C. Keenon, P. Swigert, Rev. Stuart Robinson, Rev. G. W. Brush, Rev. B. Mills, Henry Wingate, A. F. Macurdy, J. M. Mills, Wm. M. Todd, H. Hardy, G. A. Robertson, Samuel Long, John F. Leavy, B. G. Brown.

Garrard County—George F. Bartain, Samuel McKee.

Henry County.—E. C. Drane, Merrit Forbes, C. T. Chilton, F. G. Watkins, E. D. Foree.

Jefferson County.—J. A. Sweeney, W. P. Thomasson, W. P. Boone, Austin Peay, Dr. Seaton, C. M. Way.

Kenton County.—C. Carpenter.

Lewis County.—John G. Fee, John E. Barritt.

Lincoln County.—Henry Owsley.

Louisville City.—W. W. Worsley, Rev. W. L. Breckenridge, Rev. E. P. Humphrey, Rev. J. H. Heywood, T. T. Beattie, James Speed, Bland Ballard, P. Maxcy, Reuben Dawson, Thomas M. Smith, S. S. Nicholas, Jabez Baldwin, James P. Chambers, W. A. McDowell, John Cochran, James Timmons, W. N. Haldeman, Joseph Collins, Lloyd Tevis, B. F. Avery, Pat. Joyes, F. W. Prescott.

Madison County.—Ezekiel H. Field, C. M. Clay, P. Doyle.

Mercer County.—Frank Ballinger, Moreau B. Pulliam, O. S. Poston, George Slavens, Isaac N. Thompson, George S. Gatewood.

Nelson County.—A. W. Hynes, John J. Speed, J. Wood Wilson, P. B. Muir.

Nicholas County.—Joseph Woods, Wm. Atkinson, Alexander Blair.

Oldham County.—Francis Snowden, James M. Sanders, J. S. Crutchfield.

Owen County.—Samuel D. Fishback.

Pulaski County.—William H. Logan, Henry P. Thompson.

Scott County.—Gabriel B. Long, Milton Stevenson, Benedict F. Dorsey, Rev. Evan Stevenson, Edward Stevenson.

Shelby County.—Rev. J. C. Harrison, Rev. J. Tevis, Mark Hardin, Morris Thomas, H. M. Glass, Rev. D. T. Stewart, Rev. J. D. Paxton, J. H. Wilson, Wilson Thomas, Rev. G. N. Robinson, Robert C. Tevis, John T. Parker, J. M. Todd, John C. Brown, J. S. Hanna, Rev. J. G. Bruce, John Mahan.

Spencer County.—W. J. Burgess, Jesse Butner, F. H. Underwood, T. T. Burgess.

Warren County.—Rev. James M. Pendleton.

Ben. Monroe, moved that all persons present, who sympathize with the objects of the meeting, though they may not have been appointed *delegates*, be invited to take seats in the Convention, and participate in its deliberations. The motion prevailed without a dissenting voice.

Mr. J. R. Thornton moved that a committee be appointed to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the Convention. Passed.

Mr. T. M. Smith, of Louisville, moved that the committee consist of one from each county represented—and,

Mr. R. J. Breckenridge, proposed further to amend the proposition, by declaring that the members of the committee shall be designated by the delegations from the counties respectively. Adopted.

And the Convention adjourned until 2 o'clock.

—

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

At half past 2 o'clock, the Convention was called to order, and the following gentlemen were announced as composing the Grand Committee, provided for in the resolution adopted in the forenoon, to wit:

Wm. Garnett, of Barren; Geo. M. Bedinger, of Boone; W. M. O. Smith, of Bourbon: J. C. Young, of Boyle; R. J. Breckenridge, of Fayette; Ben. Monroe, of Franklin; Geo. F. Sartin, of Garrard; E. C. Drane, of Henry; W. P. Thomasson, of Jefferson; J. G. Fee, of Lewis; Henry Owsley, of Lincoln; W. L. Breckenridge, of Louisville; C. M. Clay, of Madison; F. Ballinger, of Mercer; A. W. Hynes, of Nelson; A. M. Blair, of Nicholas; J. S. Crutchfield, of Oldham: H. P. Thompson, of Pulaski; Evan Stevenson, of Scott; Mark Hardin, of Shelby; J. M. Pendleton, of Warren; Sam. D. Fishback, of Owen; Will Poynter, of Bath; Jesse Butner, of Spencer.

Which committee it was announced were in session in the Library.

Mr. Holloway, of Boyle, desired to say a few words to his friends, and hoped others would volunteer their suggestions, by way of filling up the time during the absence of the committee. We are, said he, assembled for no ordinary purpose. The ends we aim at, are of immense interest and importance. We have to meet a resolute foe—determined and uncompromising. We have against us the devil, the politicians, and George D. Prentice besides. If we scourge the devil, he will flee from us—if we scourge the politicians they will fly to us. If we would be victorious we must be vigilant, active and uncompromising. It will not do to compromise. The adversary offers no middle ground—we must take none. If we would be victorious, we must fight. We may not win the day now. A defeat will not injure—but rather strengthen and invigorate us. Being in the right, we must gain strength with every battle. The Free Soil party in the North is gaining from both parties every day. I will not say they are in the right, or that they who join them are right; but I say the friends of freedom and emancipation are daily gaining strength everywhere, and they will gain strength here—rely upon it. The emancipationists are conservative in all things—they will in all things, I trust and believe, array themselves on the side of right.

A few weeks since it was said we were not three hundred strong in Boyle county, I believe we are more than three times three hundred—and we shall gather strength from now until the election. But to secure to us that gain, we must stand firm. Again I say, let us have no compromise.

The meeting this day assembled must exert a powerful influence for weal or woe. There are hundreds in the State, who, but for the hope of ultimate emancipation, would leave here at once. If our action here to-day is bold, and shows we are determined to give battle, they will remain and aid us. If we give them nothing to hope for, they will depart and seek in other lands a riddance from the curse of Slavery. I have heard it suggested that we may compromise upon the law of '33. For the sake of the cause let us do no such thing. Our venerated forefathers in the trying times of the revolution offered no compromise. They asserted a principle, a high and holy principle, and by that they resolved to stand or fall. Let us in this struggle imitate their example. Let us present a bold, manly and determined front—and do battle with a zeal and an energy worthy our noble cause. But, I am but one among you. I have given my advice. If tamer counsels prevail, I trust there may be found enough true spirits who will unfurl the *true* banner—for the glory, honour and prosperity of the white man—to make a firm, decided and resolute struggle—and I pledge myself to be found with them.

Thomas M. Smith, of Louisville, said he was born a slaveholder—had owned as a fiduciary, and in his own right, a large number. He began in early life to believe there was something unnatural in the relation of master and slave; and that opinion has grown and strengthened with his manhood and old age. The institution has been to me a source of deep personal injury in more aspects than one. At 20 years of age, I became a member of a most respectable and influential Christian denomination. I have loved that honoured old church, but alas it has been torn and divided, and the bonds of union and fellowship which bound brother to brother, in that organization, have been rudely stopped by the influence of a controversy about Slavery. The severance of those old ties, was deeply painful to me; yet the path of duty seemed clear to me. I could not leave my church for Slavery! I stood by her in spite of Slavery!

And I have long and anxiously looked for the coming of that glorious day, when my State—Kentucky—bright, glorious, noble Kentucky—shall rise in the majesty of her strength and proclaim herself free from this terrible curse of Slavery—a curse which our forefathers in an evil hour fastened upon us. I am proud to say that I am from a city, the commercial metropolis of your State, where four-fifths of the people are for emancipation—a city whose people are ready and willing to use all honourable means to procure the extinction of Slavery.

The question we are assembled to consider, is a great political question. It is not a question of to-day. It is a question which seriously disturbed our fathers—it can have no rest until it is settled. As a political question, we have a right to discuss it—a right which no just man will deny. Wherever and whenever it is discussed, it will and must gain strength. We have then but to act wisely and prudently to-day, and go hence armed for the struggle, and if we but half fight we must be victorious. I know perfectly well there are many true and good men who are deadly hostile to emancipation. They oppose us at every step. I am willing to accord to them all the honesty and integrity that I claim for myself in the opinions which I entertain. They believe, no doubt, that their policy is the best for the country. All that we ask is, that we may reason together. A fair field is all that we need, to convince them of the policy of emancipation. Then there is another class, respectable in numbers and intelligence, who believe there is no power in the people to emancipate. This proposition, it seems to me, has but to be stated, to see its want of force and foundation. No well informed jurist will controvert the power of the people over this question. The only real question—if that may be said to be questionable—is, as to its policy. The denial of the power, is a species of fanaticism—such as we have heard and read from pro-slavery men of the cast of John C. Calhoun. It is the spirit we have seen in the American Congress—displayed too, by many who are esteemed the wisest men in the nation. I call it fanaticism—for what else but fanaticism, of the wildest kind, could induce Mr. Calhoun, acknowledged on all hands to be a man of great intellect, to stoop to combat the great truth in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are born free and equal," by the pitiful declaration, that *men* are not born—but that *babies* are born! I say, therefore, that there are among the more ultra pro-slavery men—men who deny everything inconsistent with the perpetuation of Slavery—a most dangerous spirit of fanaticism.

Mr. President, I have associated from my boyhood with slaveholders. They are generous, brave and hospitable; but many of them display a singular want of courage and magnanimity on this great question. They fear to meet it boldly, and fly to the foundationless declaration of want of power! Nay, an ex-Chief Justice of this glorious Commonwealth has recently been heard to deny the power over Slavery! The right to hold slaves is a constitutional right—the people in their sovereign capacity, represented in convention, have full power to alter or amend the Constitution. Suppose the convention, in its sovereign capacity, declares there shall be Slavery no longer. Who can gainsay it! Is it not the people who have spoken, and where is the power beyond them? Every title in slaves is held under and in virtue of the constitution. That constitution the people have full power to altar and abolish. An act of emancipation surely would not be regarded as impairing the obligation of contracts. The State has made no contracts that Slavery shall be perpetual; on the contrary, the purchaser and breeder of slaves take them subject to the express power reserved to the people to abrogate their only right of property in slaves. Emancipation is not an appropriation of property for public use. No sane man will so argue. Nor can Slavery be defended upon moral grounds. No man has a moral right to his slave. And if you are attacked because of the alledged immorality of emancipation, you may promptly reply by demanding to know by what moral right the slave is and has been held.

[Mr. S. here, upon the policy of emancipation drew a comparison betwen the cities of Louisville and Cincinnati—producing statistics, &c., which the reporter was unable to take down with sufficient accuracy to justify their insertion here.]

James M. Todd, of Shelby, remarked that, but for the *experiences* given in by the gentleman who had preceded him, the Convention would very much resemble a Quaker meeting. Quakers, though, he believed, spoke only when they were moved by the spirit, and as he had a few words to say, he felt that he had as well say them while in the spirit. I was born, said he, in a slave State, and I feel no degradation in acknowledging that I was nursed and suckeled by a slave. I confess I have never loved this institution of Slavery. I have felt that it has retarded immeasurably the onward, upward march of this great State. I believe we should this day have been, in the race of nations, far in advance of our present position, but for this institution. We stand precisely in that position where we suffer all its evils without enjoying any of its profits—if profits there be anywhere. From the character of our people, our slaves are rendered insubordinate and worthless, and their labour is comparatively unproductive. And these facts are becoming every day more and more apparent. Formerly, we went to the block to hire our slaves. Now we must look out the servant, and mildly ask, "My good boy, will you come and live with me?" They reply generally by the question, "Massa, what chance you give! Will you give Easter, Whit-Sunday, the 4th of July, big muster, last day of the election, a week at Christmas, all your old clothes before they are half worn, and several dollars in cash!" You reply, "I am too poor to do all these things"—the result is, you must look for a *slave* less exacting! If an unruly servant is flogged, he runs off, and you must expend nearly his whole value in his recovery, if, indeed, he is recovered at all. This is the true view of Slavery in Kentucky—considered in reference to its value as an institution for labour.

I have heard, Mr. President, attempts to defend this institution upon Bible grounds! By the same sort of argument we may defend polygamy. Slavery was tolerated, and is therefore right! A multitude of wives were in those days, and will it be said that a man may yet choose his wives as in olden times! One is as much scriptural as the other.

But the question of interest to us is, how are we to approach this institution? How are we, who do not believe it right or desirable, to rid the country of it? It was entailed upon us, and we are therefore not responsible for it; but if we do not use all just means to rid ourselves of it, we shall be guilty of the sin of its continuance. Besides, like all other evils, it is growing daily. The number is yearly increasing, while the outlets and foreign demand is diminishing. If we do nothing, is there not reason to fear that we shall soon be like old Virginia, where the great planter, failing to raise enough to eat, is compelled to eat up five or six of his best slaves every year! The South is well supplied with negroes. It is a well known fact that there are already a superabundance of the great staple of the South, cotton—that there is more labour employed in its culture than yields a fair profit.

Our large farms in Kentucky are yearly extending in size. We are forced to extend them to make food for our young negroes. When our children grow up, we cannot divide our plantations. We are forced to keep them to sustain our servants, and the necessary result is that our sons are compelled to go to the far West, and our daughters die old maids! We must, fellow-citizens get a hearing before the people. Our cause is just. We are in pursuit of the right, and if we but move prudently and wisely, yet firmly, we shall assuredly be victorious. Let us demand a fair hearing before the people, and if they decide against us, I, for one, shall be content: if we are victorious, I shall bless the day as our State's deliverance.

Mr. Heywood, of Louisville, had no experience to give, but would give his opinions on the interesting question before the Convention. The principal question seemed to be, independence or compromise. We only safe ground is the ground of right. No cause ever succeeded by compromise. Let us announce the principle we hold, without fear, and without modification. If we would be successful, we must not falter in the presence of our adversaries—we must present a bold and united front. A bold presentation of our cause cannot injure us, but must find us a hearty response in every valley and from every mountain-top in the State. We too often deceive ourselves by assuming that there is an indifference to the cause. The sentiment of liberty breathes and glows, and however silent it may now appear, the friends of liberty feel the importance of this time, and they will come up when the banner is unfurled, and will be true when the day of trial comes. I have travelled recently in the southern part of the State, where it was said this cause had no friends. I'll tell you, sir, we have friends there—every where. They have not spoken, because *we* have displayed too much timidity. Present to them a bold plan, and they will embrace it. Again, I say, Mr. President, that in my poor judgment, the only true ground is that of boldness and decision. Do we believe our cause just? I believe every true emancipationist has faith in the cause; and we if are but true and steadfast, we shall assuredly be victorious.

Mr. Robinson of Franklin, in responding to a call remarked, that he had just come into the Hall and did not know really what question was before the Convention, or whether, indeed, there was any question at all before it. He supposed, however, from the remarks he had heard, that it was a question in reference to the important subject of emancipation. The last gentleman up, (Mr. Heywood,) was for the right. There is a great deception in this thing of going blindly for the right. It is true, we should always adopt right principles and never compromise them, but the true question with the wise statesman is, how, and by what means, the right is to be accomplished. All will agree upon the abstract question of going for the right; but how are you going to bring the right to bear, and how can we get the people to vote for the right? What we want is, to place the question in such a form that we may get it fairly and directly before the people. We want a hearing. That is essential to our success, and if we can get the principle so set out as to give us a fair hearing, we may hope to make the right tell at the polls. I much doubt if any good can come of the agitation of the question of so amending the Constitution as to affect our purposes now.

I go for the spirit of the law of 1833, and the right to demand a vote before the people on the direct question of Slavery. Divest emancipation, when it shall come before the people, of all the flummery demagogues have thrown around it, and I believe a majority will be found for it. Let our efforts be directed to bringing it before the people. And we should be careful to bring it up unconnected with other questions of reform. Let it stand alone—the plain question to the people—"do you go for perpetuating Slavery in Kentucky or not?" I desire it to be submitted separately, because I don't want it trammeled with anything else. Put it in the new Constitution, and it will have to carry a great many other reforms. The Convention will hardly refuse a submission of the question to the "dear people" whom they represent and profess to idolize. Neither the Whig nor the Democratic members of that body will dare to refuse to let the sovereign people say what they will do with Slavery. Those great parties have been for two years past, running a race, professedly to see who could do most for the people. Now it is hardly possible they would refuse this little boon the people ask.

But we must get the question of emancipation out of the hands of the politicians. I do not believe that can be done by presenting candidates now; but we can bargain with those who are presented by the other parties—we can refuse to vote for any man who refuses to give us a chance in this question before the people. We can hold the balance of power at the polls in the Convention, and if we use it, we can get a chance to test our proposition at the polls. This may be considered as a compromise, but it will be most effectual.

The opposition to our views is inconsiderable, if we have a fair hearing. There are but few who admire the Slavery of Kentucky; and with many of that few, it is a sentiment rather than a principle. Their birth-place is Old Virginia—there they spent their youth. Slavery was there, and everything in Virginia was perfect. You know, sir, the strength of this feeling among Virginians. The imigrant from even those portions of it which Slavery has desolated—from the eastern sand hills—where the people subsist one half the year on fish and oysters, and the other half on *past recollections*—amid all the fertility of the west—sighs for the sand hills and fish and oysters of old Virginia. With others this love of Slavery is neither a sentiment nor principle—they, from mere habit cry out against us, abolition! danger to property!!—and those who cry loudest are those who never had a negro to abolish; and unless their habits of industry shall vastly change, never will; while the largest portion raise the hue and cry merely for political effect, and for fear of mere party interests.

[Mr. R.'s description of the manœuvers of politicians on the Convention question, and the "glorious state of Old Virginia society," was inimitable, and convulsed the house with laughter. It was one of those *hits*, however, which must beheard, but cannot be reported.]

Mr. Barkley, from Fayette, arose merely to state the feeling and prospect in the county which he in part represented. They felt able to elect their candidates. The pro-slavery men had held their meeting, and it had resulted in disaster to their hopes. He did not fear the result of the canvass. The law of '33 would not do for a fight—we must come to a direct vote on the question of emancipation. One of the pro-slavery candidates in Fayette, had announced himself opposed to the law of '33, and the open clause—and professed to regard them as more dangerous than a direct vote upon the question. It was best therefore, to act boldly, and have the question at once settled.

Mr. Monroe, from the Grand Committee, made the following report:

This convention, composed of citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and representing the opinions and wishes of a large number of their fellow-citizens throughout the Commonwealth, met in the capital on the 25th of April, 1849, to consider what course it becomes those who are opposed to the increase and to the perpetuity of Slavery in this State, to pursue in the approaching canvass for members of the convention, called to amend the constitution, adopts the propositions which follow, as expressing its judgment in the premises:

1. Believing that involuntary hereditary Slavery, as it exists by law in this State, is injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of free government, contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and injurious to a pure state of morals, we are of opinion that it ought not to be increased, and that it ought not to be perpetuated in this Commonwealth.

2. That no attempt ought to be made now, or at any time, to set slaves free by compulsory emaucipation, without just compensation, after rights of property have been allowed to vest in them; but that every scheme for the compulsory extinction of Slavery in Kentucky ought to begin with those born after the commencement of the scheme, and that the removal of the liberated slaves ought to form a part of every such plan.

3. That we recommend the following points as those to be insisted on in the new Constitution, and that candidates be run in every county in the State, favourable to these or similar constitutional provisions. 1. The absolute prohibition of the importation of any more slaves into Kentucky. 2. The complete power in the people of Kentucky to enforce and perfect under the new Constitution, whenever they desire it, a system of gradual prospective emancipation of slaves.

4. The Convention confines its recommendation to the question of negro Slavery, and makes no expression of opinion on any other topic.

Mr. Thomasson, of Jefferson, differed from a majority of the committee which had reported the resolutions, and desired, at this point, to arrest the attention of the house, and direct it to the consideration of the fourth resolution. I fear it is too indefinite. It does not place us upon that high ground we ought to occupy. It proposes a union, too moderate, too temporising for the spirit of the people on this subject. We must, in my judgment, go farther in our *positive* recommendations than these resolutions go. I fear we shall lose everything, if we propose nothing bold and decided now. We most not only denounce Slavery, but we must show the people that, by the action of the last Legislature in the repeal of the law of 1833, and the passage of the Dohoney resolutions, we have been forced—aye, absolutely driven, to make this question. We have no alternative between a quiet submission to perpetual Slavery, and a bold, resolute struggle for emancipation. And no good man can hesitate which to choose. I am in favour of meeting this question fairly and fully; but I prefer to leave the question of how and by what means the thing is to be accomplished—I say, I prefer that *that* shall be an open question, that every man may work out a plan for himself, and for his own constituents—and that out of the good of all the plans thus devised, we may, in the end, choose that one which shall promise to be the safest, surest and best. Besides, some of our candidates may, from local considerations, deem it proper to make this or that concession, not consistent with [illegible] and we may not be willing so to amend the Constitution, as to leave this question open for constant agitation before the people. They want to look to a day when they may repose free from the excitement of the agitation of this question. I hope the resolution will be modified. I do not want to go back to my people and tell them I have been to the Emancipation Convention, and have been compelled to fall back from the position they had taken, and have been compelled to content myself with agreeing to fight for a mere reservation to the Legislature of a right to submit the question to the people at some future day.

Mr. Holloway, of Boyle, offered the following as a substitute for the report of the committee.

[The proposed substitute was withdrawn before a copy could be prepared for the Reporter, and we were not able to secure the original.]

W. L. Breckinridge, of Louisville, said he was a member of the committee, and dissentented from the report. He came here to consider the best method of bringing the question of emancipation before the people. He supposed he came here to secure the engrafting of a plan in the Constitution. A majority of the committee seem to desire no action for emancipation by the Convention, and therefore he differed from them. Mr. B. asked if it was now in order to present an amendment to the first resolution, which would test the feeling of the Convention on this subject.

Mr. President.—No, there is already an amendment before the Convention.

Mr. Holloway—I withdraw mine, that Mr. B. may present his.

Mr. Breckinridge then offered his amendment, and remarked that he had no desire to press it. His only purpose was to secure, if possible, a vote—an expression of the opinion of this Convention as to the propriety of fighting for a *clause in the Constitution* emancipating the slaves of the State. Mr. B.'s amendment is as follows—add to the first resolution:

"But that it ought to be removed under the new Constitution, by some scheme of gradual emancipation and colonization engrafted thereon."

Mr. Thomasson proposed as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. Breckinridge, the following:

"And that provision should be made for gradual prospective emancipation with colonization."

Geo. M. Bedinger, of Boone, was a member of the committee and dissented from its report. It is unquestionably the desire of my people, said he, that there should be some provision in the new constitution in favour of emancipation. We want some ground to stand upon from which we can make a bold and resolute fight. A pro-slavery candidate for the Convention in Boone, has already gone so far in opposition to our proposition, as to avow himself for an *open clause* in the new Constitutien, *except as to Slavery*, which seals our fate forever. Such men must be met by bold, intrepid measures, with a plan promising some present relief. I believe our boldest plan is the safest. Let us encourage the people to join us, and not alarm them by the timidity of our propositions.

Judge B. Monroe, of Franklin, did not think the amendment ought to be adopted. It is better to take prudent ground for victory, than bolder ground for defeat. The amendment makes it necessary for each candidate to present his plan for emancipation. This will produce innumerable difficulties. There will be no end to the stumbling blocks it will throw in the way. The truth is, we have now no general or special plan upon which we can agree. The gentlemen of Louisville or Jefferson, may be far in advance of us. The amendment may suit them—it would destroy us. *I am for emancipation with colonization, and not otherwise*—nor will I vote for any man or advocate any plan which contemplates emancipation without colonization. It will be well for us to remember that the public mind is very far from being made up on this question. There has yet to be much sober, serious consideration bestowed upon it. Our work must be done slowly and only after a radical change in public sentiment. If we raise our banner too high, or undertake to do too much, I fear we will do nothing.

C. M. Clay, of Madison, said he had differed from the committee in their chamber, and must now apologise for forsaking his friends and going over to the committee. If I have a fault more prominent than another, it is my enthusiasm or rashness. My feelings are with my Louisville friends; if I were alone I should no doubt take their ground, but co-operating with others, my judgment tells me I must yield to that maturer and better judgment of the majority. Out of defence to the manifest will of the majority I shall support the report of the committee. The importance of the great issue at stake to-day should admonish us to proceed with great deliberation. If the report of the committee is the very best we can do, it is our duty to be content and make the most of it, We do not yield our principles—we still battle for them, if not in a strait line, we go the safest and what is deemed the best route. If we gain not all we want, we at least gain all the circumstances around us authorize us to hope for. I shall therefore follow the example of Dr. Franklin on a memorable occasion, when he declared, "If that doctrine does not give all I want, it gives all I can get, and I shall give it my hearty support."

Mr. Holloway urged the adoption of the amendment. He thought it vitally important. The principle was yielded without it. Its rejection would be claimed as a pro-slavery triumph, and with some reason. The people incline to a bold fight, and they will regard any compromise as a virtual yielding up of the question.

Mr. Robinson thought the discussion premature. The real question now is merely as to time. If we can get the question submitted in a separate clause of the Constitution, that is the best plan. A bold fight is a very good thing if a man has a fair field; but is is folly to ask for a bold fight, when our hands are tied. Let us ask our candidates to submit this question to us that we may say aye or nay to the proposition of perpetual Slavery.

Mr. Robt. J. Breckinridge, of Fayette, thought the real difficulty lay in the proposed amendment. The committee were very nearly unanimous in everything except in regard to the second head of the third proposition, and that too was adopted by a very large majority. He had no very great objection to the amendment, if it should be regarded as not recommending any specific action in the convention. A large committee, one from each county represented, has been appointed, and part of them had consulted with their respective county delegations, and that committee, after sitting in council four or five hours, reported with singular unanimity, the resolutions now on the table. They were not adopted in committee until after full and deliberate consideration and debate, and they may, therefore, be considered as a fair exposition of the views of a very large majority of the committee, and I may say of the whole party in Kentucky. What, therefore, of profit is to come from the discussion in which we are now engaged? In my judgment, the whole thing resolves itself into this: Is it the part of wisdom to devise with it—to win or lose and go before the people in the general, equivalent ground for the exclusion of any more slaves, and the investure of the Legislature with power to emancipate the slaves of the State whenever a majority of the people shall resolve such a course proper? The consideration of these questions is of vast importance. Fifty years ago our fathers had this question up before them; it is now re-produced, and we come again to its consideration. Let us so act in regard to it, that we may transmit to our posterity, as we have received it, the most inextinguishable hatred of, and hostility to, this most atrocious of all human institutions.

The true question is, which is the wisest and most hopeful of all the plans for the accomplishment of the end we have in view? It is I believe, a hopeless task to strive to get a specific plan engrafted in the new Constitution; but it is, I verily believe, a most promising and hopeful task, to look to the plan by action hereafter through the Legislature. Let us struggle to make the policy since 1833, the policy of the State in all future time, and to provide in the new Constitution, for the adoption of such plan as may be deemed wisest by the Legislature. Is it not indeed as bold, to demand the right to [illegible] at a proper time and in a proper way, as it is to demand the right that it shall be done at once in the Constitution? If we have the power to do the latter *now*—may we not hope to accomplish the former at a future day? It is infinitely more easy to attempt to carry out the plan proposed by the committee, than to move 140,000 voters *now* to the proposed amendment to the Constitution. To ask that the measure we desire may be engrafted in the Constitution now, and to ask that the right and power to do the same thing be given to the Legislature are very different things. The latter may be hoped for, the former I regard as impossible.

One of the great political parties early wheeled into the line against us. The other great political party has wheeled into line against us. We are opposed by the combined forces of both the great parties, as far as party organization can bring them to oppose us. It is not to be disguised that a large majority of the slaveholders are against us. A respectable number, to their lasting honour, have joined in our ranks. A large majority of the voters of the State, are non-slaveholders. They too as a class had been poisoned against us. They have been appealed to—they have been told that we propose to rob the slaveholder of his property. They have been told that we disregard the vested right of the master in the slave—all these things are told to the non-slaveholder, but they forget to tell him that the highest property man can have, is the property in himself. You can have no hope of success unless you can dissociate the slaveholder from the non-slaveholder. You must convince the non-slaveholder that emancipation will add to the prosperity and glory of the State. You must satisfy the non-slaveholder that power may be exercised. Emancipation can never be accomplished otherwise. Yet we are asked to go for emancipation at once—to strike boldly and blindly for a clause in the Constitution for prospective emancipation. And why? not because the mode proposed by the committee will not as surely accomplish the object; but because it may affect some gentlemen, who are candidates for office! We are asked to be guilty of this stupendous folly, because it is necessary to the success of this or that gentleman, in his struggle for place and power. We must look to higher aims. We must look to ultimate rather than present glory. I believe that some of you, old as you are, will live to be honoured that you are here to-day. We must be patient—we must be prudent—we must be watchful.

[Mr. B. spoke at great length and his remarks had evidently a very powerful effect upon the Convention. The foregoing is a very imperfect sketch of his speech. Indeed the Reporter was several times led off with the speaker, instead of following his pen in his work of taking notes.]

W. P. Boon, of Jefferson, said he came here for the purpose of doing all the good in his power. He could not see the propriety of yielding now, if good may be done by resistance. Why shall we put off the struggle if there be a rational hope of success now? Are we to run no candidates—to make no fight except about the merest abstractions? In my humble opinion, that is not the road to success.

When I first announced myself to a brother democratic friend as an emancipationist, he was amazed, and declared with great emphasis, that I had sunk so low the hand of resurrection would never reach me—that friend was Levi Taylor! I told him then, he knew nothing of the feeling abroad—that the question was gaining every day, and would gain. I am glad to find myself sustained by all I have heard and seen here. But, I fear we are about to omit to do, what many of us deem absolutely necessary to the safety of this cause. I think we should run candidates too in every county in the State, and should go for engrafting in the Constitution a provision for prospective emancipation,

Here Mr. Ballinger and Mr. R. J. Breckinridge arose to explain to the speaker, that the resolutions provided for candidates in every county—and pending the explanation.

The Convention adjourned till Wednesday evening at half past 7 o'clock.

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WEDNESDAY EVENING.

The Convention was called to order at half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

W. M. O. Smith, of Bourbon, was one of the minority of the committee, and regretted to differ from gentlemen for whose opinions, generally, he entertained such a high respect. This Convention is expected to embody the public sentiment of the emancipation party in Kentucky, and it is important we should understand each other, and be able to act together before the people. He was in favour of the proposed amendment, because it follows legitimately our first resolution. If we believe Slavery is the great moral, social and political evil we have declared it to be, our first and only aim ought to be to rid ourselves of it immediately, or as soon as the condition of the institution and the country will permit it to be done. If we express an opinion here at all, I see no good reason why we should not make our creed full, and say all that we have to say, and speak it plainly.

As the discussion of this question has brought under review the whole plan of action suggested by the committee, I will briefly state my objections to the report, and my reasons for those objections. I am opposed to the second head of the third resolution—1st. Because it will receive the same opposition that would be offered to the direct question of emancipation. 2d. It will dishearten our friends by its timidity, and throw a gloom over the prospects of the whole party; and lastly, I fear we may drive from us some of our best friends. For myself, I shall meet you heart and hand, upon any platform you may propose; but I fear there are some who would be indisposed to place this question of Slavery in the hands of the Legislature, or leave it a source of constant agitation before the people. Our opponents will declare it to be a masked battery—an attempt to do by indirection, that which we fear to attempt openly and boldly. We may sugar the pill, but politicians will tear off the coating, and we will come to the pill at last. With due deference to gentlemen of more experience, I suggest as the real difficulty, the want of confidence in our own strength. That, I am inclined to think, we very greatly underestimate. It is the cause of truth and right for which we contend. 'Tis but ten years ago, that even in some of the free States, men were afraid to open their mouths upon this question. Even there, the agitation of it often resulted in riots and bloodshed. Now, sir, here in the heart of a slave State, we are assembled to consider the best means to rid ourselves of this curse. In the emphatic language of the Hon. Mr. Davis, "the institution is doomed."

The first effort to stifle public sentiment on this question, we find in the first published *pronunciamento*, of the so-called friends of a Convention, assembled at Frankfort, in 1846-7. Then came the Legislature of last winter, which did everything it ought not to have done, and left undone everything it ought to have done. The Legislature resolved that nothing should be done on this question! But the people need only time and encouragement to are with us—it will not. The hearts of the masses induce them to enlist under our banner. We are even now hundreds, where a few weeks since we were numbered by tens. If we can devise some plan by which we can get this question directly before the people—avoid the Legislature—and secure an open field for discussion, I have no fears. It is the part of policy, in my judgment to take bold ground. Inspire our friends with confidence. I believe with Carlyle, that bolster up a lie as much as you may, truth is omnipotent and must prevail. We have quite time enough if we act boldly. A great deal can be done in three months—more than in three years in olden times. Men now a days think, write and act, as if by steam. Let us, therefore, commence our labour at once, and boldly. We go forth armed with the sword of truth—and thus armed, we shall be more terrible than an army with banners.

John C. Young, of Boyle, had no objection to the amendment, for really it seemed to him that the amendment was the necessary consequence of the former part of the resolution But he differed from his friend, (Mr. Smith,) who wanted this thing done quickly. A great deception [illegible] proached slowly and cautiously. We must not miscalculate the power of our opponents. A few years ago you will remember, it was said that *two* regiments of infantry would be sufficient to overrun Mexico. This was all deception. It cost us in losses, a large army. And Mexico is more powerful as to us, than we are to the pro-slavery party. The pro-slavery party is a powerful party—it is cemented together by powerful interests, and it will be no easy task to overcome such a party. If we go into the fight and are defeated, the moral strength of the cause is weakened. I don't want to come before the people in the attitude of one choosing the least of two evils. I want to fight for the good—and to fight hopefully, with prospect of success. And, Mr. President, all good causes require policy, as an army requires a general. It will not do to rely wholly on truth and righteousness. The Bible is truth and righteousness, but its final triumph is slow and far removed.

It is said we must fight for all, or we lose all. I do not think so. We may secure in the Convention, the first instalment, and then fight for a full victory. I want to see an opening made. Why, sir, if you desired to take the capital of an enemy's country, surrounded with a cordon of fortresses, would you press rapidly past these outposts and make the battle in the heart of this grand fortification, without even a thought for the future and the poss bility of defeat and consequent annihilation? No prudent general would be guilty of such criminal folly. He would sieze upon and dismantle the outposts, and there await the good time for reducing the capital. Let us seize the outposts—and after awhile we shall be ready to march upon the capital with some hope of victory.

In a large majority of the counties represented on this floor, we are in a minority. We may secure between this and August a majority of our own counties, yet about seventy-five counties are unrepresented, and even if we should succeed in our own, having no time to go abroad, we should be in a sad minority, and would have a constitution fastened upon us—and we are lost. Sixty millions is a vast amount, and property of that value is not to be disposed of very readily. There are many slow-thinking men who may be converted to our cause, yet they must have time to turn the matter over in their minds, to brood over it until it becomes, a sort of principle. There is another class who have prejudices in favour of Slavery—they must be convinced. Then there is another class—cowed by the cry of abolition—they must be strengthened and encouraged. There is besides that class which Cromwell

position to the constant or too frequent agitation of this question? Fifty years have elapsed since it was presented seriously to the people. If we now take the higher ground, and we are successful, the question is settled. If we take the other ground, we shall meet with the same vigorous, determined opposition—and if we are not victorious, we have gained scarcely anything beyond the right to agitate.

But, Mr. President, I do not believe defeat is certain upon the direct question. On the contrary, I believe we have the strongest encouragement to hope for success. The evidence is here, that there is in Kentucky, a strong, powerful, and intelligent party in favour of emancipation. You have not seen anywhere a more respectable body of men than compose this body. All religious denominations—both the great political parties—all classes of society—the different interests are all represented. We are divided upon all other questions, but firmly united and of one heart upon this. Several eminent ministers have spoken, and never with more zeal and earnestness, when pleading for the salvation of souls. This demonstration is conclusive evidence of great power. I will not apply epithets to my brethren and kindred, else I might say, it is wild and and visionary and mad, to say that such a party can be defeated! The sentiments here expressed upon the subject of Slavery, are not of foreign birth—they don't come from abroad—they were born here, in this land—they are deeply and firmly imbedded in the hearts of our own people. In the formation of our present constitution, this question was made, and was only defeated after a desperate struggle. The strong opposition to Slavery then exhibited has never died—it is still alive, and the fact that this large and respectable body has been brought together upon such short notice, and under such adverse circumstances, is the highest proof of the strength of the friends of the cause, and is a strong guarantee of success. The action of the last Legislature did much to get up this movement. Their gag resolutions, and the repeal of the law of 1833, aroused the people. I thank God, from the bottom of my heart, that he turned the counsels of these men into foolishness. I confess, I blushed when I heard of the repeal of the act of 1833; but when I considered it calmly, I thanked God for the foolish action of our Legislature.

There is, Mr. President, a strong feeling in the hearts of the religious people against Slavery. Not that they believe it against the bible doctrine, or sinful according to God's law. That is the dogma of Abolitionists, and we renounce it. But there is, away down in the hearts of a large proportion of the christian people of this land, a feeling at war with the institution of Slavery. There are many thousand benevolent people in the State, who, I care not what they may say, feel in their hearts that Slavery is wrong. Let that feeling be cultivated and brought to bear upon this question, and it will shake this Commonwealth to its centre. If men take this question up—each man try to get one more friend to the cause—and go on duplicating in that way, the work will be very soon accomplished. Give to the friends of emancipation, earnestness and courage—they have the truth and argument—and they will conquer.

It was well said awhile ago, that three months is a long time for such a cause as this—longer than three years a little while age. Let us improve that time, and I believe we shall find it all sufficient. So far from being discouraged at the nature of the opposition displayed to emancipation, I am emboldened by it. It seems to me to be a timid opposition. The friends of emancipation are trembling in their shoes, and when they shall hear of the strength of this meeting, they will be more alarmed. They were terrified last winter. Their entire action on the subject of Slavery bears evidence of it, and I do not wonder that they are afraid. I would be alarmed if I were of their party. We have half gained the battle when we have alarmed our adversary. Let us, therefore, prepare to go forth now to meet him, and I feel sure, that with God's help, we have nothing to fear.

Dr. McDowell, of Louisville, asked an explanation of the effect of the amendment, which was given. He remarked, that he preferred the original resolutions, because they gave more time for the consideration of the question—more time for the people to think of the matter, and seemed to him to present, altogether, the surest and best plan of action. If we adopt the amendment and fail in August, we are lost; if we take the committee's plan, we have a long time for labour, and are not prostrated by a single defeat.

Mr. Sartain, of Garrard, feared it would be deemed presumptions in so young a man to offer his opinions upon so grave a question, in opposition to the opinions of much older and wiser men; but the deep interest he felt in the final triumph of the cause, was his apology, and would be trusted he does not [illegible] sufficient. He felt that everything depended upon the action of this Convention. The friends of Emancipation in all parts of the State are looking to you—from this hall they expect to receive encouragement to go forth and labour in the good cause. I firmly believe, said he, that the adoption of the amendment will bring out the friends of emancipation. It will show to them, that we are in earnest—that we really mean what we say, when we declare Slavery to be an evil. Give them this, and they will come out boldly and manfully. On the other hand, the least display of timidity, or want of confidence in our strength, will dishearten our friends, and will give new life and vigour to our already determined adversaries. We should say to the people of Kentucky—we are not afraid to meet you face to face upon this question, now—at this moment. We desire to meet our adversaries. We are firm in the faith, and we will vindicate the justice of our cause. For myself, sir, I greatly prefer the adoption of the amendment. I go for making the great fight now—I go for the whole hog or none!

Let us present a bold front and go before the people with an energy corresponding with the importance of the question, and we shall be victorious. We have too long suffered this cause to sleep. We have permitted ourselves to slumber too long. If we want longer slumber, let us vote down the amendment; if we desire to arouse the party and infuse into it new life, let us go for the adoption of the amendment. Some gentlemen have said the amendment will be the death of them. I shall be sorry to see any friend fall under it; but, Mr. President, the failure to adopt it will assuredly slay some of us. It is something like the medicine of the old Doctor, in my county. He believed Krout to be a sure remedy for cholera. He tried it on a Blacksmith patient—it cured him. He entered in his memorandum book "Krout—cure for cholera." He soon had a Tailor patient. He tried his remedy again. It killed the Tailor. He turned again to his memorandum book, and continued "good for blacksmiths, but death on tailors." So it may be with this amendment, if all that is here said be true. It must be the death of one or the other of us here. But I verily believe the boldest, is the safest plan. The people have not had a fair chance at this question. Let us give it to them and they will carry it. We must not imitate the tricks of politicians. Let us come out boldly and fearlessly, and we shall gain friends.

After Mr. S. took his seat, there were several calls for the "question"—

Mr. Barkley, of Fayette, arose and said, he hoped the question would not yet be put. It is really the question of the day. All the hopes of the party seem to hinge upon it, and he hoped to hear other speeches before being called to vote. He wanted to hear from several of the older gentlemen on that floor—men who had been most active in putting the question in motion. He wanted the benefit of their views and he hoped he would be forced to go away without them.

After some conversation near the Secretary's table, and pending the question upon Mr. Thomasson's amendment, the Convention, on the motion of Mr. Stevenson, adjourned until Thursday morning, at half past 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING.

At half past 9 o'clock, the Convention was called to order.

Samuel Shy, of Fayette, remarked that he had an amendment to the second resolution, which, though not in order, he would read for the information of the Convention.

He objected most strenously to leaving this question in the hands of the Legislature. He had greatly more confidence in the people, than in the Legislature. He could not agree to accept such referees at the hands of the friends of emancipation. They would be bad enough, proposed by adversaries; from them he might be induced to accept such, but it would be only when he could do no better.

The effect of a reference to the Legislature, will be a constant, unceasing agitation of the question. He was opposed to a constant agitation of it before his people. I am, said he, an emancipationist by feeling and nature; but I am opposed to the constant agitation of the question. Give me a plan, and I am ready to take the field at once; but I am not willing to stir strife among my people forever, and finally submit to the decision of a Legislature. As long as he Constitution and the Law protect Slavery, I shall aid the master in the vindication of his right; but I look upon the institution as a terrible curse upon the white man, and so believing, I desire to see some bold step at once taken to rid ourselves of it. We are now about to altar our organic law. Let us sieze upon this opportunity to secure in the new Constitution, some safe and moderate plan by which to rid ourselves of Slavery. I am willing to take it in any just form in Convention. I believe a united effort *now* will secure it. Though but few, comparatively, of the counties of the State are here represented, yet we know there is a feeling in every part of the State, in warm sympathy with us. They are praying for emancipation—they will struggle amidst the people, and at the pools, to remove this cankering curse from the white race. I care not how far off you may fix the day of our deliverance—any reasonable period—so that the day be fixed, and that, too, in the Constitution of the State. I shall be very sorry to be forced to rest this great question in the hands of the Legislature. Let the direct question come before the people *now*. Let us go before them—with the words of sober truth, and the powerful arguments afforded to the friends of this cause, and I, for one, have no fears about the issue. God has fashioned us after his own image, and he has implanted in the breast of every one, a feeling repugnant to this institution. The people will do nothing, in their cool moments, which may, at any time, be pleaded in justification of the bondage of their own children.

Mr. Evan Stevenson, of Scott, said he felt deeply embarrassed in rising to say, even the little he had to say, on this grave question. He was in the presence of many of the wisest and best men in our great Commonwealth. He had come here to hear from them, rather than to be heard by them; but he felt impelled by a sense of duty to the cause, to declare his approval of the report of the committee, and his determination to sustain that report. He referred to the condition of things in his own country connected with the struggle for the seat in the convention, and gave an amusing account of the struggle between the two pro-slavery candidates, for the proprietorship of the Convention platform. The emancipation party, said he, is torn by no such divisions—we have no such struggles to divide us. We are united and firm as the eternal hills. The contest on this floor is between those for a bold strike and those favourable to a more certain and conservative movement. I blame no man for boldness, for I believe the plan here denominated *tame*, is far the boldest proposed—for it goes right at the question, and promises, with God's blessings, to bring us safely through the storm. Let us see. There are but 20 counties represented here. I do not wish to chill my friends; but it is well that we should look at the facts as they really exist. Some of our friends will hear to nothing but a fight in August. We are not strong enough I fear to make the grand, deciding fight so soon. We have ammunition—the Bible is our ammunition—and we have steady hands and stout hearts, and we have irresistible arguments—all we shall bring to bear for our glorious cause. But we are yet, it is feared, too weak in numbers to effect our ends. We have a desperate foe to encounter—a public sentiment founded on prejudice and bigotry. Why, sir, the other day, I, who am no politician, was called to address a meeting of my fellow citizens on this subject—discussed it—and, I here say, I never had an audience of more attentive and respectful listeners. Yet, I was afterwards told, there were those, who, at the nod and beck of a certain man, were ready to bear me from the stand. I who am a Kentuckian—bred, born, and reared in Kentucky, have preached God's word to her people since I was 20 years of age—I am not to speak to my fellow citizens on this great topic, else I may be driven from the stand! I don't believe they would have attempted it. If they had attempted it, I should have been like old Joe Craig, when they came to take him to jail for preaching. "Well, said he," lying down flat on his back, "I may now have no hand in it"

But my friend, Mr. Shy, deprecates the agitation of this question. I, Mr. President, think the last Legislature threw down the glove and invited the contest. We choose here to take it up, and prescribe the terms of the contest. I go for agitation, constant, earnest agitation. Move the people everywhere. Tell them of the importance of this question. Teach the doctrine of emancipation from every mountain—meet the plain people in the valleys—there tell them the truths we have to present concerning the great interests they have at stake in this matter. Tell them that Washington and Jefferson and Monroe were opposed to Slavery—tell them of Patrick Henry—they were emancipationists—they hated Slavery because it was wrong in itself, and because it was a curse to the white man. Tell them these things and they will believe you. There is no reason, sir, for hot haste in the matter. Gen. Washington, in the darkest hour of our father's struggle, retreated before the enemy day after day—he fell back again and again until he brought Cornwallis to fight him on his own ground, and he there, glorious old man, won for the cause of liberty one of its proudest triumphs. Washington's prospects for victory were less promising for victory than ours. If we are equally [illegible] we will be equal, fortunate. Let us therefore take the committee's resolutions, and let us agitate this question, day and night, until Kentucky has within her borders no slave to taint her soil.

Judge Nicholas, of Louisville, said, I have reason to apprehend there is a good deal of misconception as to the purport of the resolutions of the committee, presented on yesterday. The general tenor of those resolutions, as soon as I heard them, met my hearty concurrence, and my mind was relieved of a feeling of apprehension, that something might be done to prostrate the hope of the party. I can therefore assure the gentlemen of that committee, that it was no slight alleviation to my feelings when I heard the report read; and, I take this occasion to tender to them the sincere thanks of the discreet friends of emancipation in this hall, and elsewhere, for the faithful discharge of the patriotic labour assigned to them. And those thanks are especially due to two of that committee, from whom I feared less calm and prudent measures. The fact, however, that those resolutions were written hastily, and at the close of a long and laborious session, and that they have been misapprehended here, leaves no doubt they will be misapprehended elsewhere. I was requested by several friends, to try and embody the spirit and meaning of the committee's resolutions, and at the same time rid them of the objections indicated, and present the result of my effort to the Convention. I have endeavoured to do so—though I believe it is not now in order to present it.

Mr. Thomasson withdrew his amendment, and Judge Nicholas read as follows:

That, negro Slavery being a great moral, social, and political evil, injurious to the growth, wealth, morals and industrial habits of our whole white population, without any sufficient compensating benefits to the slaveholders themselves, and without any benefit whatever to to the non-slaveholders, the people of Kentucky should, by appropriate amendment of the Constitution, retain in their hands the right and power to extirpate the evil; and, the subject being one of such transcendant importance that even its unavoidable agitation is calculated to disturb, if not injuriously influence, its adjustment of other great constitutional questions, any plan for the eradication of the evil, when presented for the final ratification of the people, should come before them, as a single, distinct question—separate from all others. Therefore,

Resolved, That it be recommended to all those who are opposed to the further increase and perpetuation of Slavery in Kentucky, to support candidates for the Convention who will advocate the following propositions, or some near approximation thereto.

1. That the Constitution be so amended so as to prohibit the importation of slaves into this State.

2. That any scheme of emancipation should be gradual, prospective, and operate upon none but after born slaves—not interferring with the right of the owner to remove his slaves from the State, and be connected with colinization.

3. That a majority of the people should have the right to determine, by their votes at the poles, on some future day, as a distinct question, separate from all others, whether some such scheme shall then be adopted and become part of the Constitution.

4. That to prevent the injurious effects of a constant, or even too frequent agitation of the question, its submission for the decision of the people, should not be repeated but after a lapse of such a number of years as would afford reason to suppose a deliberate and radical change of public sentiment on the subject.

5. That any amendment of the Constitution, by the coming Convention, touching the subject of Slavery, should be submitted for the ratification of the people at the polls, as a distinct question, separate from all other amendments.

Judge N. proceeded. It would be an act of supererogation, to impute a want of sufficiency in argument to the remarks of the gentleman from Fayette, in support of his resolution. But the arguments offered, may not have been retained in the memory, in the midst of the many things which have been said for and against the resolutions, and for other propositions proposed by way of amendments, and it may not be amiss therefore to offer a few remarks in support of them now.

The first great task to be accomplished by the friends of this cause, is, to emancipate emancipation from politics and the influence of wealth; for it is now so hampered and trammelled by those influences, that it is utterly impossible to secure for it, in any contest, a fair trial. It was truly remarked on yesterday, that one great political party, the Democrats, made an effort to rally against it. They did not disguise their object in so doing, and no sooner had they begun the work, than the whole Whig press began to decry agitation, lest it might throw power in the State, into the hands of their adversaries. Whatever of influence both parties may have, has been brought to bear against it—except that aged and venerated man of Ashland, who is above the influence of party control upon great questions like this, I know of no politician who has had the boldness to stand out in its favour; on the contrary all have decried it. The party press on both sides are doing all they can to prevent our having a hearing. Is that a state of case that justifies our risking all now? Shall we become a mere nose of wax in the hands of politicians? Let them combine, as they have done against us, and determine to crush a question, and there is no earthly chance to get a hearing, far less to come out victorious. Yet you say, the people will hear you. Well suppose they will. We have but about *one fourth* of the State represented here We will be engaged in our respective counties; who have we to rely upon in the remaining seventy counties of the State? Who are our friends? We are yet without the knowledge absolutely necessary to the preliminary arrangements for the canvass. Do you know, that leading men in all parts of the State, who formerly sympathized with you, have gone over to the other side, fearing the effect of the popular cry against emancipation? This is certainly true. We must therefore emancipate emancipation from the politicians before we are ready to begin our fight properly.

The next thing is to emancipate emancipation from the money power of the State. We cannot undertake, with a hope of success, any scheme against the combined property and wealth of the country. We may talk about freedom, and Kentucky independence—and God knows her people have as much of it as any people upon earth—but where is the people free from monied influence and power? Why is it that men, who would fight if told they were not free, have fled this question? Let it be said that all the wealthy men are opposed to any single proposition, I care not what it is, and their influence will be felt through all the gradations of society, from the minister of the Gospel to the day labourer. Not that any of these men, if convinced that a measure was necessary, would refuse a pecuniary sacrifice; but they will be slow to believe, and, at best, will be disposed to postpone a decision to a future day. Especially are they slow to act when they are told they will sacrifice themselves for nothing. It is a bold man, indeed, who has the courage to meet and battle to the death, in a cause which all around him affirm is hopeless.

Besides, the subject of emancipation must engender heart-burnings. The indifferent will be told it will effect the value of slaves if at present agitated; they will be told that slaves will be rendered insubordinate and nothing will be left unsaid that may be calculated to influence them on the side of the slave owner.

Yet the friends of emancipation cannot be expected to remain idle and see the law of 1833 crushed. That is an issue tendered by our adversaries. We meet the objection against present agitation—we meet our adversaries as they have chosen to be met—we make no issue between political parties—we sever it from all other questions—we do not give it to demagogues to harangue against us—nor do we offer it as an instrument to aid in making the Constitution so radical, that it shall be little better than an act of legislation. God forbid that any emancipationist should, by his action, here or elsewhere jeopard the good old principles of the Constitution. There are men who will sacrifice all to save their negroes; but I rejoice that there are none here, who have selfish or personal considerations, which could induce the sacrifice of great principles.

But it has been asked, why the question cannot be as easily carried now, as at a future time; for, say they, the proposition we make will be opposed as sternly as any other. I have said the anti-emancipationists—I mean perpetualists—are now powerful. They are bonded with both parties and the wealth of the State. Separate them, and they are not as *one* in *twenty* If we go for immediate emancipation, we go with all these elements against us; but with my proposition, it is very different. Nearly every one of their leaders stand pledged to the law of 1833. The people are for the spirit of that law, and they will engraft it in their Constitution; they will put it beyond the reach of their Legislature. I thank the last Legislature for the boldness with which they proclaimed Slavery a blessing! Will those who have stood by the law of 1833, stand now with those who proclaim Slavery a blessing? We then have a Constitution in regard to Slavery, but no Constitution for freemen! If it is adopted as part of the Constitution, we may unite with the friends of the other reforms in the Constitution, and carry it; but if it be submitted separately, it must have friends enough of itself to carry it—or it fails. I confess, I cannot see how, or in what view of it, we are to gain anything. On the contrary, it seems to me, that we shall lose in every aspect of the case.

I have been pained to hear several allusions to *party* in the course of this debate. I have always been identified with what is known as the Whig party; but I never would, even in my party days, give up my opinions to be long to any party. If the party chose to believe with me, well enough; but I would never sacrifice an opinion, to agree with them. And I would prefer now to give the Democratic party power for two thousand years, than let this question fail. I regard emancipation as *the* great question of this day. I look upon Slavery as wrong—as a great evil, that is weighing down my country, and I will sacrifice all but honour, to rid my country of it.

Judge Nicholas explained. In his former remarks, he meant to say, that he hoped no emancipationist would yield a great principle, even to promote the cause of emancipation.

Mr. Breckenridge. That is precisely what I *will* do. I will vote for a man favourable to the election of Judges, if I can secure aid to [illegible] I will go for electing Constables, Clerks, &c., if I can thereby promote emancipation. If giving up political principles for this end, be political dishonesty, I meekly submit to this imputation.

But, Mr. President, I regret this controversy. I hope we will unite, vote down all amendments, and pass the resolutions reported by the committee.

Judge Nicholas said he would have been glad, if Mr. Breckinridge had thought it proper to mention his objections to his (Judge N.'s) resolutions, when they were submitted to him in the morning. I trust said he, I know my duty well enough not to propose anything calculated to breed discord in this body. I saw there was not likely to be perfect harmony upon the committee's proposition, and at the earnest solicitation of several friends, I drew up those which I presented, believing sincerely, they would satisfy all parties.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge, explained, that Judge N. had submitted his resolutions to him, and without giving them a critical examination, he said he would offer no objection to them, if they were acceptable to, or preferred by the Convention; but the argument upon them, had placed them before his mind in a light different from that in which they appeared when first presented to him.

Judge Nicholas. I do not rise to reproach the gentleman. He certainly had a right to withdraw his acquiescence, if the tenor of the resolutions was misunderstood. I do not question the propriety of the gentleman's course; but rise more for the purpose of explaining my own agency in the matter. I understand the resolutions of the committee to concede a vested right in slaves. I desired to avoid that concession. Some gentleman make a distinction between a vested right in a slave *in esse*, and a vested right in a slave not *in esse*. I hold to no such doctrine; I believe the right of the master is as perfect in the slave unborn, as it is in the slave after birth.

Mr. R. J. Breckinridge.—The resolutions of the committee, only declare they will not ask for the emancipation of slaves *in esse*, without compensation to the owner.

Judge Nicholas.—I go for saying to the negro holders—you shall hold your slave so long; but if a majority of the people of Kentucky, on a given day, declare for emancipation, your slave, if then within the jurisdiction of this State shall be free. No man has a right to hold property which is deemed hurtful or injurious to his neighbour and to the State. If the State has a right to take the slaves by paying a compensation for them, she has the right, when she has thus acquired them, to take them beyond the State and dispose of them. She has also the right to require the master to take them beyond the State, where he may make such disposition of them as to him shall seem best.

[Here some words took place between Judge N. and Mr. B., as to the language of Mr. B. in regard to the vested right of master in slaves *in esse*—which being satisfactorily explained,]

Judge Nicholas proceeded to remark at some length upon the resolutions offered by the committee. He feared there was great danger to be apprehended from a constant agitation of the question. He had heard more than one gentleman, who are now upon this floor, declare their hostility to any scheme which should look to a continued agitation of the question. The contest is a peculiar one. We must be brought in collision with our neighbours—The constant agitation of emancipation must, to a certain extent, render the slaves dissatisfied, and insubordinate, and to that extent, detract from their value. If the Convention should leave the question open to constant agitation, he should be constrained, from a high sense of duty to vote against it. Indeed, he was inclined to think the Convention asked too much, when they asked the country to leave the question open—to fix no time when it should repose from the agitation of what must be a very exciting question.

Mr. Ballinger moved the previous question. Withdrawn.

Mr. T. M. Smith, moved to lay the substitute offered by Judge Nicholas, on the table. Carried.

Mr. Holloway moved to insert the words "in or," in the 2d head of 3d resolution—so that it shall read, "2. The complete power in the people of Kentucky to enforce and perfect *in or* under the new Constitution, whenever they desire it, a system of gradual prospective emancipation of slaves."

Mr. W. L. Breckinridge then called up the resolution offered by him as a substitute for the second resolution, and it was adopted.

Mr. J. G. Fee was opposed to the compulsory colonization feature in the resolution.

The question being upon the first head of the third resolution, it was adopted.

Mr. Shy offered the following as a substitute for the second head of the third resolution:

"That, as the people of Kentucky, under the circumstances now existing, have complete power over the subject of Slavery, they ought not to part with it, by any constitutional provision, until they have matured and adopted some effectual plan for gradual prospective emancipation and the removal of the emancipated slaves from the Commonwealth,

Mr. Robinson opposed the substitute. It was lost.

Mr. Shy offered the following as a substitute for the second head of the third resolution:

"The complete power in the people of Kentucky to enforce and perfect, in or under the new Constitution, a system of gradual prospective emancipation of slaves."

Adopted.

Mr. W. M. O. Smith submitted a proposition, expressing it as the sense of the Convention, that the clause for gradual emancipation, if engrafted in the new Constitution, should be submitted to the people, separate and distinct from all other questions.

After some other discussion, the proposition was rejected.

Mr. Bedinger, of Bourbon, desired to have the first head of the third resolution so amended as to exclude emigrants from the operation of the prohibition in said clause, but withdrew his proposition at the earnest solicitation of several gentlemen.

The vote was then taken upon the resolutions, as amended, which read as follows:

1. Believing that involuntary and hereditary Slavery, as it exists by law in this State, is injurious to the prosperity of the Commonwealth, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of free government, contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and adverse to a pure state of morals, we are of opinion that it ought not to be increased, and it ought not to be perpetuated in the Commonwealth.

2. That any scheme of emancipation ought to be prospective, operating exclusively upon negroes born after the adoption of the scheme, and connected with colonization.

3. That we recommend the following points to be insisted on in the new Constitution, and that candidates be run in every county in the State, favourable to these or similar constitutional provisions: 1. The absolute prohibition of the importation of any more slaves in Kentucky. 2. The complete power in the people of Kentucky to enforce and perfect, in or under the new Constitution, a system of gradual prospective emancipation of slaves.

4. The Convention confines its recommendation to the question of Slavery, and makes no expression of opinion on any other topic.

They were adopted with but one dissenting voice.

Judge B. Monroe offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That W. W. Worsley, Reuben Dawson, D. L. Beatty, Pat Maxcy, Bland Ballard, Wm. P. Boone, Wm. E. Glover, T. McGrain, Jas. Speed, and Wm. Richardson, of Louisville, be and they are hereby appointed a Central Committee, to use all proper means to promote the views of this Convention on the subject of emancipation, and that they have power to appoint sub-committees in such places in the State as they may deem proper, and also to appoint advocates of the cause where they may think its interest demands it.

Judge Monroe expressed the hope, that no document would be published by the committee, except such as were written by our own citizens. He was decidedly opposed to foreign interference in this matter.

Resolutions were adopted, returning thanks to the officers of the Convention, and requesting the editors in the State to copy the proceedings of the Convention.

After prayer by the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge,

The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1849.

Advertisement.

The NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD is published on Thursday of every week by The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at its office, 142 Nassau street, New York.

As the object of the Society is the ABOLITION OF AMERICAN CHATTEL SLAVERY, which is sustained, and can exist only, by virtue of a corrupt public sentiment, so the purpose of the Society's Organ, the STANDARD, is to establish the great truth, by facts of experience, and appeals to reason and common sense, that Slavery is economically, politically, morally, and religiously, a gigantic error, and a sin of the deepest dye, and should, therefore, be immediately, totally, and unconditionally, abandoned. It enforces the duty of secession from the body of a Church which palliates or defends such a system, and repudiates a Union whose common bond is the oppression of one sixth of the people.

It is the aim of those to whose management the paper is entrusted to make it, not only a faithful and earnest exponent of the highest Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, but also a complete history of the progress of the Anti Slavery cause. A portion of its columns is always devoted to selections from other papers, both Northern and Southern, presenting, so far as it is presented through the public press, the pro-slavery or Anti-Slavery complexion of the different ections of the Union.

It is designed also to be a good *family newspaper*, and contains always a brief synopsis of the most important current intelligence. Its [illegible] exclusively of a literary character, and is carefully collated from the best Foreign and Domestic Publications.

The STANDARD is edited by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, EDMUND QUINCY, and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Mr. Gay is he resident editor, and its chief management is entrusted to him. Each number of the paper will contain an article in the editorial columns from either Mr. Quincy or Mr Lowell over their proper initials.

RICHARD D. WEBB of Dublin, whose letters to the *Standard* have excited so much attention hitherto, for their just and discriminating view of Irish affairs, and for their general great ability and interest, will continue a regular correspondent of the paper.

Its price is $2 per annum, and the Executive Committee confidently and earnestly commend it to the patronage of the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and all all opponents of American Slavery, as worthy, both for its object and its character, of their support

The National Bazaar.

In the never-ending, still-beginning conflict with Slavery, the time is arrived, or is close at hand, when the claims of the National Bazaar, to be held in Boston next December, are to be urged anew upon the attention of the Abolitionists of America and Europe. As a main arm of the warfare, in its National embodyment, it has always demanded and received their cordial support. At no time more than the present does it demand the earnest interest and active cooperation of all who regard the combined action of the uncompromising and unflinching Abolitionists, of every part of the country, united in the American A. S. Society, as the most important instrumentality for the overthrow of an Institution which extends its curse and its crime to every portion and every inhabitant of the land. A National Evil is only to be met by a National Antagonism, absorbing into itself the elements of righteous hostility wherever existing, throughout the Nation. It is this view of the matter that has made the Boston Bazaar the object of so extended and so generous a sympathy in the British Islands, as well as in remote parts of our own country. It is not as the *Boston* Bazaar, but as the *National* Bazaar, held in Boston because experience has shown it to be the best Anti-Slavery Market in the country, but pouring its entire nett proceeds into the treasury of the American A. S. Society, that it has deserved and received these testimonies of Anti-Slavery confidence, liberality and zeal.

The devoted men and women who constitute the American A. S. Society, and their intelligent and active coadjutors in Great Britain and Ireland, have felt that their main business, because that which was the especial business of no one in particular, was to preserve the existence and maintain the efficiency of the Central Organization, of the Society which stands up before the American People and the World as the Representative of the most thorough and uncompromising hostility to American Slavery, whose office it is to direct its observation, and such efforts as the means placed at its disposal permit, to those portions of the territory of the United States that, in its judgment, may be approached with the greatest effect. The local action, in particular States, or portions of States, against Slavery, they have thought might be left to the Abolitionists of those sections of country, where zealous and intelligent Abolitionists were to be found. Though regarding all local movements with the deepest interest, and giving them in their own neighbourhoods, on the part of the American Abolitionists, an active and liberal concurrent support, they have felt that their chief attention was due to the National aspects of the Cause, and they have generally agreed in opinion that foreign contributions should be solicited and employed mainly in operations of a Central and National character. Thus Massachusetts, for example, though her Abolitionists contribute certainly as much in proportion to their means as those of any other part of the country directly to the treasury of the American A. S. Society, besides bearing the burden and heat of the National Bazaar, asks and uses no penny of foreign contribution for her local agitation. The Massachusetts Abolitionists maintain their Depository and agencies, and carry on their extensive schemes of Conventions and lectures in addition to what they give to the National Society, or do for it. The income of the Boston Bazaar, after paying its just debts, is passed over in its entirety to the National Society, for National purposes. And this in the case of the auxiliary Fairs held in other parts of the State as well as in the Capital.

This exposition of the attitude of the National Bazaar towards its foreign contributors and the Cause, seems to be demanded at this moment by the letter of the Committee of the Eastern Pennsylvania A. S. Society, which was copied from the British Friend, the week before last, which appears to us susceptible of misconception, and of producing impressions, we are sure, very remote from the intentions of the writers. The Liberator of last week contains some strictures upon it which we are confident will be received in the same frank and fraternal spirit in which they were expressed. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that we did not for a moment, suspect those faithful friends of any intentional striking of hands with that unscrupulous and malignant enemy of the American A. S. Society and its prominent members, Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham. His unprincipled agency in the private circulation of the slanders of Colver and Phelps against Mr. Garrison and other abolitionists, under the seal of the British and Foreign Society, and his other *new-organized* malfeasances, must have been too fresh in their remembrance for that. We believe they would quite as soon have applied for countenance and assistance to his especial friends, Mr. Lewis Tappan and Mr. Joshua Leavitt. They were only unfortunate in their choice of a medium of communication with the British Abolitionists. The well-known and long-tried fidelity of those two friends to the principles of the American A. S. Society, and their strong sense of the necessity of maintaining its integrity and efficiency, also forbid us from putting the construction upon some portions of their letter, which some unguarded obscurity of phrase might perhaps suggest to persons unacquainted with their relations to the American Society.

Knowing as we do the warm sympathy of the writers of the letter with the National Bazaar and its objects, we cannot suspect them of meaning to include that instrumentality in the following appeal for assistance:

"Why is it, then, we receive so little substantial proof of heartfelt cooperation from British Abolitionists? Why is it that our Annual Fair, the profits of which are mainly devoted to the carrying on the operations of this Society, is so entirely neglected by them, *while their aid is liberally extended to other fairs in this and other parts of the country?* Are we mistaken in supposing that their sympathies are with us, and that our measures meet with their approval? If so, we would be informed of it; or if they have misapprehended our position, we would gladly correct the error."

We apprehend that they mean merely the Liberty Party Fair in Philadelphia and others of a purely local character in other parts of the country. We cannot think that they meant to express the wish that any portion of the contributions usually given to the American Society through the National Bazaar should be diverted from the National Agitation to the local uses of Eastern Pennsylvania. We conceive that they meant only to solicit for such help (and proceeding, perhaps, from sympathy with their Free Produce views) as would not be given to the American Society through the National Bazaar. They know too well that the business of that Bazaar is as much their businss as it is that of those who give their time and money and strength to it. That the duty of maintaining the American A. S. Society is as much the duty of Philadelphia as of Boston, of Pennsylvania as of Massachusetts. They could have had no such meaning. But it is unfortunate that they did not employ language incapable of misconstruction.

The misfortune of any phraseology of dubious import in this matter is, that it might give rise to a most unfounded impression that there was some rivalship between the National Bazaar at Boston and the Eastern Pennsylvania Fair at Philadelphia. Nothing, we apprehend, could be more entirely groundless than such a supposition. The object of the one is of a general, and that of the other, of a local nature. The one contemplates the application of Anti-Slavery truth to the whole country, and the other to a very small part of it, This is, of course, as well understood in Philadelphia as at Boston; and there can be no clashing of interests or of feeling between genuine abolitionists, whose one purpose is the advancement of the Anti-Slavery Cause. The National Bazaar is held in Boston, as we have before suggested, because experience has proved it to be the best market for the articles furnished, and especially those from abroad. We will venture to say that there will be no objection on the part of the Massachusetts Managers to have it transferred elsewhere whenever as good a market, or a better one, can be found anywhere else. We, of course, speak without authority, but we believe we hazard nothing in asserting, that if the Managers of the Philadelphia Fair would pledge to the American Society a sum as large as, under favourable circumstances, is obtained in Boston and at the auxiliary Fairs, say Five Thousand dollars, the Massachusetts Managers would most cheerfully transfer to them all contributions from the other side, and add to them their own contributions and most zealous cooperation. Their only object is to obtain as large a sum as possible for the purposes of the National Society. We conceive it is quite immaterial to them where the money is obtained.

This statement of the relations of the *National Bazaar* to the cause and to its contributors, and of the reasons for making it at this time, has extended much beyond what we intended it to be when we began. But it is timely, nevertheless. It is time that the friends of the American Society should bestir themselves in every direction that promises to strengthen its hands and enlarge its field of labour. There was never a time when funds could be used with better effect, or made to go farther, than now. We trust that Abolitionists at home and abroad will be alive to its necessities and its opportunities, and not permit any comparatively subordinate Anti-Slavery interests to interfere with its paramount claims.—[E. Q.

The Free Soil Party and Mr. Palfrey

Another defeat of Mr. Palfrey in the Middlesex District of Massachusetts is a matter of history, It is an event which should startle the Free Soil Party from the profound slumber with which it has been refreshing itself since last November, if that slumber be not indeed the sleep of Death. During this Rip Van Winkle nap it has been indulging the dream, as appears from a circular of the Hon. Rockwood Hoar, printed in the *Boston Atlas*, that Mr. Palfrey would be elected by a majority of from a thousand to fifteen hundred, without any especial effort, except that of *not* exciting the other parties! As if any victory was ever gained in any quarrel in the least degree analogous to this without hard fighting! The Free Soil Party had better go back to their old appellation of "Young Whigs," if this be their philosophy; for they are *very* young, and may well take lessons in political wisdom of their Fathers in the Whig Israel.

During the weeks preceeding the Election no agitation was had in the District, under the impression, as we gather, that it would arouse the opposition of the other parties, and especially of the Whigs! The result has shown that it was not so easy to catch the Whig weasel asleep as they thought. It may have showed a child-like simplicity in them to believe that they could capture so very old a bird by putting salt on his tail, but we would advise them to disabuse their young minds of that heresy in Natural History. Their course reminds us of the sagacious sportsman, who, having taken aim at a fine fat bird sitting at his ease on a tree, and being asked by his companion "why he did'nt fire?" replied, "Hush! if I wait awhile *perhaps he'll drop down dead* of his own accord!" The advice of the leaders to the mass of the party seems to have been in the true confiding spirit of infancy,

"Open your mouth and shut your eyes.

And I'll give you something to make you wise!"

Only they told them to keep their mouths shut as well

as their eyes, in hopes of blinding their neighbours, too. We most sincerely hope that what they *have* got will make them wise.

Wendell Phillips has said of late that "the Free Soil Party is dead," and a few more such demonstrations like this will go near to make it thought that it is buried, too. We have had some experience in this sort of warfare and we can assure our Free Soil friends that it's of no use waiting for enemies to die natural deaths. They must charge them sword in hand if they wish for victory. The dust and sweat and clamour of the battle field are not pleasant, but success can be had on no other terms. If the Free Soil Party really desire Mr Palfrey's election, let them send their best speakers into the District and not leave a stump in it unmounted. Let them, like Witherington at Chevy Chase, "fight upon their *stumps*!" They must make the District boil like a pot if they would conjure out of it their candidate's success. Men are not carried into Congress any more than to the skies, "on flowery beds of ease?" No, they must "fight to win the prize," as others have done before them. Mr. Palfrey will be elected, if at all, only as the result of a thorough shaking of his District.—We shall see whether there is life enough in the Movement to give it one. If not, we trust that those of our old coadjutors who have left us and followed after Free Soil will learn, if they have not already, that it is not the instrumentality to do thorough, persevering Anti-Slavery work. The mantle of Anti-Slavery descended upon the Free Soilers! Why, they are not worthy to wipe the shoes of the very least of us!—E. Q

Reform Among Friends.

We copy from the *Tribune* the following letter of Oliver Johnson, as a good report of the meeting of the dissenting Friends, at Waterloo, and probably the best that will appear. Many of our readers, we know, will be eager—if a Quaker can be supposed ever to get so far out of the quiet as to be eager for anything—to hear of the sayings and doings of this important meeting, and to those who have known hitherto little of the movement, we commend the admirable Address which this new body puts forth:

Within the last few days there has been held at the Quaker meeting-house near this village, a large meeting composed mainly of members of, or seceders from, the Society of (Hicksite) Friends. It was called for the purpose of forming a new religious organization of a more liberal and reformatory character than that of the old sects. The movement originated in a conscientious dissatisfaction with the frigid indifferences or unyielding hostility to the reforms of the age manifested by the leaders of the Quaker Society. Year after year had the earnest opponents of Intemperance, Slavery and War, sought to procure such action on these questions as they thought was required by the principles which the Society had so long professed. Many of their members had been disowned for no cause save their activity in reformatory associations, while others were subject to the constant pressure of religious bigotry and intolerance. Among those disowned for this cause was the venerable Isaac T. Hopper, of New York, the late and deeply lamented Charles Marriott, and Nicholas Hallock of Milton, and Joseph A. Dugdale, of Ohio, both able ministers of the Society.

The call for the Convention whose sessions have just been concluded, was issued by a Conference of members of the Genesee Yearly Meeting of Friends. It proposed as a substitute for the old Quaker organization, whereby the Yearly Meeting is endowed with ecclesiastical power over the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, that each local congregation should manage its own internal and disciplinary affairs on such plan as may be best adapted to its own peculiar circumstances; while the General or Yearly Meeting, being free from the necessity of intermeddling with merely local affairs, and from the difficult, not to say unworthy, effort to enforce a rigid uniformity in respect to theological opinions and shibboleths, should be devoted to the culture of a wider charity, a more enlightened and earnest sympathy with the reforms of the Age, a more generous hospitality for new ideas, and a spirit of brotherly co-operation in every work of practical righteousness and benevolence. Retaining the essential *principles* of Quakerism, it proposed to abolish what is known as the "Select Meeting," or the meeting of Ministers and Elders, and to render the organization more democratic by placing all its members upon one level of rights and prerogatives, leaving each individual to exert the influence which *character* alone can confer. The practice of recommending (ordaining) ministers and seating them above their brethren, it is also proposed to abolish, leaving each individual free to speak or be silent, according to his his highest perceptions of duty. Proposing no theological test, it was designed to form a union of all those, of whatever sect, who desired to co-operate in works of charity and benevolence, on a basis which should allow the widest freedom of speech in respect to all subjects on which there might be an honest difference of opinion.

The call was responded to by a large number of persons, mostly members of the Genesee Yearly Meeting, but including a few from other parts of the country, and some who were not Quakers. Among those in attendance from abroad were Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, (the most eloquent Quaker minister in the United States, if not in the world,) Nicholas Hallock of Milton, and Josepa A. Dugdale and Ruth Dugdale, of Ohio. Contrary to the usual practice of Friends, the sessions of the Yearly Meeting were not private, but open to anybody, who chose to attend; and men and women, instead of meeting separately, came together in the same room on terms of perfect equality. The meeting was organized according to the usual Quaker practice, by the appointment of no other officers than Clerks. No question was put to vote, but everything was done by general consent, the Clerks, after listening to all that was said by the members, recorded what appeared to them to be the prevailing wish of the meeting. The Clerks were Thomas McClintock, of Waterloo, a well-known minister of the Society of Friends, and Rhoda de Garmo, of Rochester. Epistles of sympathy were received from various meetings and individuals in different parts of the country, which afforded proof that the movement is confined to no locality, but has sprung from a common want among those who desire to make their religious organizations more truly subservient to the progress of practical piety and philanthropy. The name assumed by the meeting, after considerable discussion, is that of Congregational Friends.

The discussions of the meeting were conducted with great kindness of spirit, earnestness of manner, and, on the part of some, with great ability and eloquence. Lucretia Mott delighted everybody by her simplicity of manner, her clear perception and fearless utterance of truth, and her devotedness to the Right. Beside attending the regular sessions of the Convention, she addressed a crowded meeting at the Court House in this village on Tuesday evening, and another (to vindicate the Rights of Women,) at Seneca Falls, on the evening of Wednesday.

The subjects brought before the meeting were mostly of a practical nature. Intemperance, Slavery, War, Licentiousness, Land Monopoly, the Rights and Wrongs of Woman, Priestcraft, Sectarianism, Capital Punishment, &c., all received some share of attention. A general Address (written by Thomas McClintock), setting forth the views of the meeting in relation to these subjects, and defining the positon of Congregational Friends in respect to questions of theology, was unanimously adopted. Congress was memorialized for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and the inter-State Slave Trade, and against the Extension of Slavery to California and New-Mexico. The Legislature of New York was memorialized in opposition to Capital Punishment,

The spirit of the meeting and its opposition toward Reformers of all classes is exhibited in the following Address, which was unanimously, and even enthusiastically, adopted. The contrast between this and the proceedings of other religious bodies in relation to Reforms is noteworthy. Instead of opposing and baffling them, it extends to them the helping hand, recognizing them as som any departments of the great field of Christian effort:

ADDRESS TO REFORMERS.

To all Earnest and Devoted Labourers in the various Humanitary Reforms so conspicuous in the present day, the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends sendeth greeting.

Beloved Friends: Assembled, in obedience to the call of duty, for the promotion of pure and undefiled Religion throughout the world, our souls have been stirred by an earnest desire to strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of those who, in the midst of obloquy and reproach, are struggling, through the various Reformatory Associations of the present day, to abolish the giant evils which have so long cursed and degraded the human family. Having broken the ties of party and sect, under a solemn conviction that they are incompatible with the freedom of the soul and a mighty obstacle to the progress of the human race in knowledge and goodness, we have been drawn together for our spiritual strength and elevation, and by a common sympathy in every work of practical righteousnes, and a common desire to find a basis of union for all thes friends of God and Humanity—a common platform, onl which they may meet in perfect harmony with the laws of their being and the equal relations which our father in Heaven has established for them. Such a basis of universal fellowship we have sought, not in creeds and forms, but in love to God. and in those principles of fundamental morality which are the elements of all true religion, and which are so clearly set forth in the precepts and so beautifully illustrated in the life of Christ. While your Associations are devoted each specially to one or another of the various branches of Reform, ours is designed to embrace them all in one common Brotherhood, and to open a channel through which those engaged in one department may help those who are toiling in another, and receive and impart the strength which is derived from communion with God and with kindred spirits. Standing upon this platform, we rejoice to greet you as fellow-labourers with us in the great work of Human Redemption and Salvation and to tender you our hearty God-speed in the work to which you have been called.

In the field of moral no less than in that of physical effort, there is an absolute necessity for a division of labour—a necessity arising on the one hand from the magnitude and variety of the work to be accomplished, and on the other from the great diversity of gifts in the different classes of the human family. The attention of one class may be particularly called to the evils of Intemperance; another may be inspired to do battle with the gigantic sin of Slavery; a third to denounce and express the atrocities and crimes of War, and another for the Abolition of the Gallows and the adjustment of the whole penal code to the Christian law of Forgiveness; another may be called of God to arrest the tide of Sexual Impurity; the province of others may be to seek a remedy for the blighting evils of Poverty, to protest against the tyranny of Wealth, the monopoly of Land, or to harmonize the relations of men in Industrial Associations; another class may be impelled to labour for the restoration to Woman of the Inalienable Rights of which she has been so long despoiled; others may seek the overthrow of a despotic and mercenary Priesthood, to call mankind away from reliance upon empty forms and the observance of holy days, and to consecrate all time to the service of God; and still another class may devote their energies to Physiological Reform, or to the sacred work of Education. But, as all moral evils spring from the same root, so is the work of abolishing them essentially one work. Hence, we exhort the friends of Reform, in whatever portion of the moral vineyard they are called to labour, to remember that they are one Brotherhood, and should therefore be of one heart and of one mind. We are deeply impressed with the conviction that not only is an earnest devotion to one philanthropic enterprise consistent with a hearty interest in every work of Reform, but that our usefulness and efficiency in our several spheres will be proportioned to our just appreciation of the labours of others and to our diligence in cultivating the spirit of Universal Unity. The narrow bigotry which leads us to form an exaggerated estimate of our own immediate labours and to undervalue the toils and sacrifices of others not less devoted than themselves to the welfare of mankind, is at war with the whole genius of Reform and a mighty hindrance to our moral and spiritual growth. The friends of Humanity, of every class, should sedulously cultivate the spirit of harmony and mutual co-operation so beautifully described by one of the prophets of Israel: "They helped every one his neighbour; and every one said to his brother, Be of good courage. So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and he that smootheth with the hammer him that smote the anvil, saying, it is ready for the sodering: and he fastened it with nails that it should not be moved." (Isiah xli. 6, 7.)

We admonish you, beloved fellow-labourers, to be steadfast and immoveable in your adherence to fundamental principles, to Right and Truth in opposition to the maxims of a worldly Expediency. Be true, under all circumstances to your highest convictions, to the voice of Duty in you own souls. Let no temporary good, no impatience for immediate results, tempt you to swerve from the line of strictest Rectitude. Remember that duty is yours, while consequences are God's. Enter into no compromise with the evils which you seek to exterminate. While you deal kindly and patiently with those who set themselves in opposition to the cause of Reform seeking to win them to the right way in the spirit of love, we exhort you also to be bold and fearless in proclaiming the Truth. You are set to defend. Let your rebukes of sin be tempered with kindness, but give no place to that false charity which shrinks from the utterance of an important truth from the fear of giving offence.

We entreat you also to be faithful to the Truth in dealing with the corrupt parties and sects which lend their influence to sustain injustice, oppression and crime. The Church which sanctions or apologizes for Slavery and War, or which neglects or refuses to take the side of the oppressed and down-trodden, is controlled by the spirit of practical infidelity and atheism. The Ministry which is zealous for creeds and forms, but utters no efficient testimony against the popular sins of the age, is not a Christian but an infidel Ministry; and we counsel you, by your reverence for God and your love for man, to lend it no support. Be not deceived by the potent wiles, nor awed into submission by the anathemas of such a Church and such a Ministry. Though the hosts of sect and party are encamped on every side, be not dismayed nor disheartened, for in the conflict with unrighteousness "one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight." The advocates and apologists for Sin may seek to overwhelm you with the waves of popular indignation; you may be denounced as heretics, fanatics and infidels; but remember for your consolation that such has been the fate of Reformers in all past ages, and that even Jesus of Nazareth, in whom was no guile, was charged with blasphemy and doomed to suffer an ignominious death upon the cross.

In thus addressing you, we obey the holiest impulses of our nature which are ever prompting us to deeds of charity and benevolence, and to manifestations of sympathy for all who are sincerely concerned for the welfare of man. The religious association in which we are united assumes no ecclesiastical authority, neither does it, as such, set up any claim to your veneration as a Divinely constituted body. Your reverence is due to the manifestations of the Divine Will in your own hearts, not to organizations, which, however holy in their origin and purposes, are but the instrumentalities adopted to the present condition and wants of mankind.

A deep sympathy for you under the manifold trials and discouragements which throng your pathway, and an ardent desire that you may prove faithful even unto death, constrains us, as your equal brethren, to offer you these words of admiration and cheer. Receive them, we pray you, in the spirit of Love, and so far as they shall be found to accord with your own highest convictions, let them be duly impressed upon your minds and hearts.

Finally, dear friends, be vigilant in the work to which you are called; and may the God of truth inspire you with wisdom and strength, and crown your labours with glorious success.

Signed on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Congregational Friends, held near Waterloo, Seneca Co. N. Y. from the 4th to the 6th of the Seventh month, 1849.

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK, } Clerks.
RHODA DE GARMO, }

This, I believe, sir, is the first time that any religious body in the land has spoken in terms of encouragement to the family of Reformers, recognizing their labours as designed and calculated to redeem the race from ignorance and sin and hasten the triumph of pure Christianity. If the Church generally would give equally strong evidence of her sympathy with humanity, she would not have cause to mourn that her altars are deserted by the earnest and devoted Reformers of this hopeful age. Yours,

REVILO.

The Letter of the Philadelphia Fair Committee.

We found in the (Glasgow) *British Friend*, two or three weeks since, a letter to Samuel Rhoads of Philadelphia, written by Sarah Pugh and Mary Grew, in behalf of the Philadelphia Fair Committee, which we were confident was never intended to be published either in *Friend* or *Standard* But having found its way into the former we transferred it to our columns with the briefest possible remark, expecting to produce precisely the result which has followed; and we did so without consulting either the writers of the letter, or any other party. We were confident then, and are equally so now, that it was not the intention of the Philadelphia Committee, in appealing to British Abolitionits for aid for their Fair, to draw off the contributions, to the value of a single Pincushion, from the Boston Bazaar; at the same time it required no extraordinary foresight to see that that would very probably be the consequence of the publication of the letter in England without an equally public explanation of the position of affairs among us on this side the water. To copy the letter and leave the explanation to follow spontaneously seemed the best and most natural course to pursue and we accordingly adopted it. Consequently in the *Liberator* of last week appeared an article explaining the purpose of the Boston Bazaar, and the relation it sustains to the general cause, and animadverting, thongh in the kindest tone and spirit upon the Philadelphia letter. This exposition of the views of the Massachusetts people, of the purpose of the Boston Bazaar, and of the comparative importance of that and of local efforts of the same character can hardly fail to be of service here, as well as being a timely reminder to our friends abroad of the necessities of the cause in this country, both general and local. It ought, and we trust, will prevent any diminution—if such diminution were probable—of contributions the proceeds of which find their way into the Treasury of the American Society; and we hope, also, will in no wise diminish the assistance which may be extended to efforts of a narrower scope.

In addition to the necessity of such an explanation as we have alluded to, it seems also proper that one should be given, inasmuch as the letter of Misses Pugh and Grew is made public, of the circumstances under which it was written. None has yet been made, but we presume will be, as our Philadelphia friends will feel no donbt conscious that their coadjutors in Massachusetts are labouring in some degree under a misapprehension, or, at least, that they do not see a sufficient motive for such an appeal to the Abolitionists abroad. We expressed just now our confidence that there could be no wish nor intention on the part of the originators of the letter to turn into a new channel the contributions which had heretofore found their way to Boston. We know the American Society has no better friends than the Philadelphia Fair Committee; and if there be any superiority among its members in the warmth of their regard for the national organization it is in those whose names are appended to the letter to Mr. Rhoads. But even if this were not strictly true there is nothing in the fact of such a letter being written and sent that cannot be easily and satisfactorily explained. We are not authorized to make any such explanation, but it can do no harm to state our understanding of the matter, and it may do away with a false impression which might otherwise be left upon the minds of some of those who will take an interest in the subject.

Beside the Fair held by our friends in Philadelphia, the Liberty party people in that city have, for several years, adopted the same means for raising funds, and for two or three years past have received substantial aid from England. This assistance, we believe, has come mainly from persons members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, or those who through their influence have been induced to extend thus a helping hand, as they thought, to the Cause in this country. Many of these persons doubtless were not aware that they were in this way rendering assistance to a merely political party, and were the alternative given them, would prefer, perhaps, to contribute in preference to an organization which advocated the cause as a moral rather than a political measure. Our Philadelphia friends wished, we take it, not so much to present this alternative, as the Liberty party is no longer in existence, and the Fair, we believe, has gone the way of the party; but to offer to those persons a channel through which they could still aid the cause in this country, and without which they would cease altogether to do any thing for it in any way. They choose Mr. Rhoads as a medium of communication between themselves and the class they wished to appeal to in England, as a gentleman well known there and highly esteemed among Friends, and as one who from his interest in the cause generally, and especially in the Free-Produce question, would be likely to exercise his influence in their behalf. The letter was sent by him to Mr. Sturge as his friend, and as the readiest method of reaching that class of persons for whom it was intended. If any of those should be induced to transfer to the Philadelphia Fair the donations which they have hitherto made to the Liberty Party Fair, and which if not thus transferred would be lost altogether to the cause in this country, it would be so much gained for local purposes, and add to the ability of the Eastern Pennsylvania Society, to aid the National Organization—an end, we are confident, which was not forgotten.

We make this explanation entirely on our own responsibility, and without any previous consultation with our friends in Philadelphia. They will probably tell their own story, and of course we shall be glad to enlarge or correct the statement here made. But we repeat that as the letter of the Fair Committee had found its way into the columns of a newspaper in Scotland, that the whole matter might be clearly understood in Great Britain, as well as here, we copied it, and we are satisfied that good must result from the discussion which has followed. Where a misunderstanding has ensued, or is likely to ensue, full discussion of the question involved as the readiest method of clearing it away; and it is impossible but that misunderstandings shall occur in organizations so imperfect as ours where the right hand knoweth not what is done by the left.

P. S. Since the above was put in the printer's hands, we have read the article by Mr. Quincy, touching the same subject, which will be found in another column. The propriety of the publication of this statement is in no degree lessened by the insertion of Mr. Quincy's article.

[We are indebted to the Rev. Mr. Lee, of the *True Wesleyan*, for slips containing the following report of the trial of the Rev. Jarvis C. Bacon,, who, it will be recollected, was indicted a few weeks since for feloniously circulating among the people of that enlightened region a Sermon, and the Narrative of a Slave. The report will be read with great interest, and ought to excite some sensation among a people who are never tired of boasting how entirely free we are from all manner of despotism under our blessed Government. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Lee for thus giving us the opportunity of laying this interesting trial before our readers before it shall have appeared in any other paper except his own.]

A Wesleyan Minister in Bonds.

Brother Lee:—It becomes my melancholy task, to communicate the painful intelligence expressed in the caption. On the 3d of April, 1849, the Grand Jury of Grayson Co., empannelled in the Circuit Court of said county, after consuming the greater part of two days in ransacking the county in quest of evidence, and the foreman (a M. E. preacher,) using every endeavour, succeeded in making a presentment against Brother Jarvis C. Bacon, charging him with feloniously and knowingly circulating the "Address delivered by Edward Smith in the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati. Ohio, from Rom. xiii. 10. Said Address being intended to incite slaves to rebellion and insurrection, and denying the right of property of masters in their slaves. Also with 'feloniously and knowingly circulating the Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass," as being of the same tendency.'"

On the same day, Judge Brown issued his bench warrant, for Brother Bacon's arrest, which was immediately served, and the case examined before three Magistrates, by whom he was bound, in $200, for his appearance before the County Court, at its April term. His trial, however, was postponed until the May Court. County Courts in Virginia are held monthly, and are composed of Magistrates, who do not *try* causes, but *examine* and decide if they shall go to the Superior Court for trial. It is not my design to make comments on, or take exceptions to, but to make a fair statement of the facts in the case as I understand them.

Court was called at 11 A. M., of the last Monday of May. Brother Bacon's trial commenced about 12 o'clock, and closed the ensuing day, near the same hour of the day.

The imagination of the reader must be taxed, in order to a just idea of the scene, an *accurate* description of which your correspondent feels unable to give, and the like of which he sincerely prays that the reader, nor himself, may ever behold. The Court house as much crowded with a mixed multitude Some, and not a few) *warm* and *devoted friends*, and many *bitter* and *determined foes*. Two lawyers appear on each side, viz: Mr. McCommet, State's Attorney, for Grayson, and Mr. Cook, from Carroll county, on the part of the Commonwealth. Messrs. A. Fulton, of Wythe, and a member of Congress, last term, and P. S. Buckingham, of Montgomery county, in behalf of the defendant. Before the Court, composed of *five* magistrates, *four* of whom are members of the M. E. Church, South, and *all* slaveholders, is Brother Bacon arraigned, to answer to the charge of *high felony*. You may fancy his feelings, as there he sits, far from the home of his childhood, and the hearth of his widowed mother. While all around is excitement, he is calm—his countenance smooth—carriage dignified—deportment manly, and soul resting and feasting on conscious innocency. I would here state, for the satisfaction of the friends of truth,—his immediate acquaintances and friends—and brothers, and sisters, but especially for the comfort of his affectionate mother, that Brother Bacon most emphatically lives above the storm, to the astonishment of his friends, and consternation of his foes. So much so, that the Sheriff, who took him, acknowledged, "that he had *never seen such a man!*" Then, reader, whether friend or foe, reflect what must be his trust in that Almighty Being who binds the waters of "Old Ocean" with sand, saying, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed," and has decreed, "That the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of his wrath he will restrain,"—and how dear to him must that deep and constant peace be known only to those who are conscious of being prompted by *worthy* motives, to the performance of *noble deeds*.

The first case examined, is relative to circulating the "Narrative." The witnesses give their testimony, which amounts to this: Bro. Bacon, by request, loaned the book to two persons, the *latter* a young lady, who's brother *clandestinely* conveyed it to the owner's enemies. The prosecution is now heard in a most furious speech, of three hour's length, by Mr. Cook. The speaker commences by stating, that the case was a *new* one, and decidedly the most important with which he had been connected, or of which he had a knowledge in the history of this Commonwealth. We have come here, not to decide in *this* case alone, (the speaker already at the top of his voice,) for, as for the PRISONER, we could soon *drive him from the State*. But we have come here to say, if our *throats* are to be *given* to the *butcherknife*, our houses to the torch, and our *wives* and *daughters* to ——. Here the speaker lifts the *Bible*, (which lay before him,) and declares most vehemently, (already very angry,) *God* is the *Author of Slavery, all* are a pack of hypocrites and liars, who say to the contrary. Mr. Cook now makes a journey on the beaten track, from *Abraham*, pursues the five Kings and brings back Lot: and makes his way onward over the cloud-clad, lightning-scarred, thunder-shaken, and Deity-crowned Mount of Sinai, down to Collasee, thence to Ephesus, and terminates his tiresome tour, at the indubitable conclusion that, God has regulated, and hence sanctioned, Slavery, and, as a matter of course, having to perform so long a journey in three short hours, he had little, or no time, to attend to the evidence in the case.

Mr. Cook concludes his tirade of abuse of *God*, the *Bible*, and *Abolitionists*, by stating, he had appeared there, by the request of many respectable citizens of Grayson. He knew not that he should get any remuneration for what he had said or done, except a clear conscience, for having discharged his duty to his country.

Mr. Buckingham, for the defendant, alludes to the importance of the occasion, as evinced by the large concourse present, and to the *prejudice* against Bro. Bacon, as seen in the fact, that the Press, which should ever stand, a faithful guardian to the *freedom of speech*, has expressed a hope that no Attorney would open his mouth for the defendant. Mr. Buckingham reminds the Court that it sits there to protect the rights of Brother Bacon, (a freeman,) equally with those of the Commonwealth of Virginia; and in a happy effort of two hours and a half, holds the attention of the Court to the *law* and *evidence*. Says Mr. B., the teachings of the Bible have naught to do in the case of the defender's *innocence* or guilt of the charge of a violation of the laws of Virginia.

"All said by Mr. Cook on that subject, is totally *irrelevant*. But to the *law* of *Virginia*, and to the *law* of *Virginia* alone, is the defendant accountacle before this Court. What is the law, with a violation of which, Mr. Bacon is charged?" Mr. B. reads from the law, as follows: "Any free person, who shall write or print, or cause to be written or printed, any book, pamphlet or other writing, with the intent to incite or advise the coloured people of this Commonwealth to rebel, or make insurrection, or denying the right of property of masters in their slaves, and inculcating the duty of resistance to such right, or shall knowingly circulate any such book, pamphlet or writing, with the intent to aid the aforesaid purposes, shall on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the Penitentiary for a term of not *less* than *one*, nor more than *five* years." "This," says Mr B., "is the *law* touching this matter. What is the evidence?—That Mr. Bacon has circulated this book, (lifting the Narrative,) in violation of the law! Where is such *evidence?* Not before this Court. Where is the evidence that Mr. Bacon *himself* has ever read this book? That he ever said one word in approval of its contents? Or that there is a person of colour in the County or *State*, who knows there is such a book in existence? Says Mr. B., I call for the testimony proving that the defendant has ever *done* or *said anything* that would justify the conclusion, that he had any intention to violate, either the *letter* or *spirit* of the law. In the absence of such proof, I deny, (as I have a right to do,) that he ever has done or said any such thing."

The speaker reads from "Clarke's Theology" the views there expressed, and protests there registered; and also from the Discipline of the M. E. Church, South, the duty of all their *Ministers*, to enforce on their members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God, &c. "These books," says Mr. B., are circulated in all parts of the South, and *nothing* said about a violation of the law; and *why?* Because they are not circulated with a criminal *intent;* and so far as the evidence is concerned, the cases are are exactly parallel." Mr B. concludes by returning to the Court his thanks for their attention, and delivering the defendant into their hands. The Court rises to meet next morning, 8 o'clock.

Is called at 9, A. M. A. Fulton commences his plea, by stating,—

"The case is a novel one to him, and perhaps to Western Va. A vast amount of prejudice possesses the public mind; so much so, that his, or any Attorney's *right* to stand in his relation to the defendant, had been challenged. He stood there upon rights secured him by the great foundation of their common political, civil and religious rights. The declaration of *rights*, made *by*, and *for* his own State. Mr. Fulton proceeded with his plea of about an hour and a half's length, in a highly eloquent, manly and clear manner—creditable, alike to his *tongue*, *head*, and *heart*, in which he showed what *had* and what *not* to be proven. "It is not important to the point, if Slavery *is*, or is *not* in harmony with the teaching of the Bible. If it *were*, he did not profess to be a *Divine*, and hence that ground was too *holy* upon which for him to stand. He did not profess to know as much about the Bible, as his friend Cook. Said, Cook should reflect, that in denouncing as *liars* and hypocrites, all who believe and teach that Slavery is a sin, he condemns many who had made that department of knowledge their study for a long life-time; who had proven themselves to be shining lights and burning lamps in theological literature, that Adam Clarke, of whom Mr. Cook spake so highly the day before, believed that Slavery is a sin."

Here Mr. F. read from Clarke's Commentary and Theology, on that subject. Cook, greatly excited, said, "I don't regard Dr. Clarke's or Dr. Any-body-else's nions." Mr. F."—"I believe you." Cook—"If Dr. Clarke were to come here and teach such doctrines, he should be hung," Mr. F.—"It is not at all strange that Mr. Cook interrupts me at every step of my argument." Cook—"My tongue is my own—I will use it when I please." Mr. F.—"I admit it; it is for the freedom of speech I am pleading. You are at perfect liberty to indulge in such language as much as you please. It will doubtless eventuate to the advantage of the defendant." Cook, very angry, pours out the vials of his wrath, in muttering curses on the Abolitionists. Mr. F. continued by saying, that Mr. C. should reflect, that in denouncing those who believe Slavery sinful, he cast his reproachful missiles at the largest ecclesiastical organization in the country; to prove which, he read from the Discipline of the M. E. Church, South. "But," says Mr. F. "all *this* has nothing to do with the case. The questions to be decided, are, Has a book been circulated? Is that book of the character proscribed and prohibited by law? Was it circulated with the intent to incite the people of colour to insurrection or rebellion? Is Mr. Bacon, the *person* who thus circulated the book?"

He *denied* that the book was circulated with the intent recognized in the law. To effect such an object, the book must come in communication with persons of colour.—Otherwise it could not influence their minds pro nor con. In no instance had the defendant sold, loaned, or read the book to persons of colour. Therefore he has not violated the law, and per consequence, should not suffer its penalty. Mr. F. plead farther, that Bro. Bacon had not even circulated the book, in the sense of the law. He had merely *loaned* it, and that by the request of those to whom he sent it. Suppose *your* neighbour should wish to borrow Clarke's Commentary, to ascertain what it says on the subject of Slavery, and should your Worship see cause to gratify him, would you thereby subject yourselves to the law? If not, then the defendant, standing on precisely this ground, has not sinned, and hence should not suffer; and you are most solemnly bound by your oath of office to acquit him. Not only so, for the Golden Rule, *with its boundless motives, imposes the same decision.* Mr. F. submitted the case to the Court, returning it his thanks, and expressing his deep conviction of the innocence of Bro. Bacon.

M'Commet, on the part of the Commonwealth, occupied about an hour, alternately appealing to the judgment and prejudices of the Court. Said Mr. M'C., it is true that they (the prosecution) might have confined their remarks to the nut-shell to which Mr. F. would limit them, but we thought it best to treat the subject as we have. The plain English of which is, "There is not sufficient evidence to convict the defendant, hence we deem it *politic* to go beyond it to effect that object." Said Mr. M'C., it has been stated, there is great prejudice against Mr. Bacon. This I do not admit. That there is great feeling, I am free to acknowledge. But what is the cause? It has been said, that he came here a *Preacher of Peace*. What kind of peace? What do we see to-day? persons who had been *neighbours* and members of the same church, refuse the hand of friendship in the street. Mr. Fulton called M'C. to order. That was not in evidence. Mr. M'C. came to order, and argued he evidence some 15 or 20 minutes—gave evident signs that he felt cramped by the meagerness of the testimony. Said M'C., it has been denied that the book was circulated.—What is it to circulate? To move round, to put about.—Had not the culprit moved round and put about the book? What could have been his intent? This we are to learn from his conduct." Mr. F argues, that the book must come in communication with persons of colour, before it can affect them. This is not the case. He could not but *believe*, and was sorry to say, there were white persons in Grayson, who would tell persons of colour all about such matters.

Abruptly leaving the case, the speaker poured out a torrent of denunciation against the Abolitionists. He *hated* them because they were enthusiasts, liars, scoundrels and hypocrites. God is the author of Slavery. What was *once* right is *now*, and always will be. Heaven and earth shall pass, but My word shall not pass till all be fulfilled. The Abolitionists have but *one* text to prove that Slavery is a sin, viz: He that stealeth a man, &c. This they misquote, misconstrue and misapply. Lifting the Narrative he read the song commencing,

"Come saints and sinners hear me tell,
How pious priests whip Jack and Nell."

The entire concourse is thrown into a paroxysm of laughter. He then read from the close of the Preface: "Come what will, cost what it may," &c., on which he commented with great warmth. Spoke of blood-stained *knives* and *hearts, burning houses, broken altars*, and much more such like. At the close of which, the Court decided that the case should go up to the Superior Court. Brother Smith's pamphlet was delivered to the Court, with the request, by M'Commet, that it would read the passages that were marked. Mr. Fulton wished their Worships to read the whole argument.

The Counsels on both sides agreeing with their pleas in the case of the Narrative should apply to the pamphlet.

The Court read about fifteen, and consulted for about ten minutes, and announced the reference of the pamphlet also to the Superior Court.

Mr. Fulton, in Behalf of Brother Bacon, asked for leave of *bail*. McCommet objected—read the law on that point, which amounted to this: "If there was but slight suspicion of guilt, they had the power to grant bail. But if there was good proof, they had not." The Court allowed bail, and thereby, said there was but slight suspicion of guilt. Brother Bacon then gave security in a bond of a thousand dollars in each case. I give it as worthy of *note*, that John Cornout (a slaveholder,) gave his name as bail. At which McCommet expressed great surprise. Brother Bacon is now in bonds of $2,000, for his appearance at the Superior Court, to be held at Grayson Court-house, on the 1st day of September, there to answer the charges above written. * * * * *

I am yours in the bonds of
"First *pure* then peaceable,"
Adam Crooks.

Big Creek, Stokes county, June 7, 1849.

Cassius M. Clay.—A report was received here by Telegraph on Monday, that at a public meeting in Madison Co., Ky., on Sunday last, a fight took place between Cassius M. Clay and a Joseph Turner, in which both parties snapped pistols at each other without effect, and then took to bowie knives with which they succeeded better in their deadly purpose; Clay was stabbed through the heart and killed instantly, and Turner wounded in the abdomen and groin, and died soon after. A subsequent dispatch, however, corrects the first story by reporting Turner only as dead, and Clay as wounded but likely to recover. Turner was the pro-slavery candidate for the Convention, and the quarrel probably had its rise in the question of Emancipation.

It will surprise nobody that Clay, who once avowed a change in his views in regard to duelling, should be engaged in a desperate encounter of this sort. It is entirely characteristic of the man to profess the highest rule of action and live up only to the lowest.

Death of ex-President Polk.—Ex-President Polk died at his residence at Nashville, Tenn., on Friday last. His disease, no doubt, was Cholera, though as an ex-President, is not supposed to be capable of dying of so vulgar a disease, some other name is given to it.

Mr. Polk was, we dare say, an amiable and pleasant man in all his private relations, except in that between himself and his servants, in which he was necessarily a robber of the wages of the poor, and a tyrant over his own household. However much he may be regretted by one portion of his domestic circle—and no man ever dies without some tears shed over him—doubtless it is his lot, in common with almost all Slaveholders, to be execrated rather than mourned when dead by those dependent on him, but whose worst enemy he was when living. And as a public man his certainly is no loss to the country; it would rather be a source of regret that he had not died five years ago, were it not for the reflection that probably some other tool equally pliant, and equally unscrupulous, would have been found to perpetrate the gigantic national crimes which have distinguished the administration of James K. Polk.

Deputation to the Governor.—A deputation consisting of Gen. Wallbridge, Mr. John Cochran, Mr. John Jay, and several other gentlemen left New York on Thursday evening, for Albany, to represent in person, to the Governor, the general feeling prevailing here in favour of the commutation of the sentence of death passed upon Alexander Jones. They are the bearers of a petition from the jury who convicted him—and private letters from distinguished men of all parties, such as: Charles O'Connor, Hon. J. L. White, Hon. Cornelius W. Lawrence, David Graham, T. Fessenden, Hon. Henry Nicoll, &c., &c.

We hope they may be more fortunate in their application than the gentlemen in Massachusetts, who appeared before Gov. Briggs and his Council in the case of Goode.

Lamartine's Confidences.—We do not doubt—to do otherwise would impugn their good taste—that our readers have missed in recent numbers of the *Standard* the elegant and faithful translation of the Confidences of Lamartine which we some time since commenced on our fourth page. They probably also have conjectured the reason of the discontinuance—the publication in a cheap form of two different editions of the work, one or the other of which may be found on the counter of every respectable book store in the country. When we commenced its publication it was appearing only in the weekly numbers of a Paris paper, and was not accessible to one out of a thousand of our readers, but to continue it longer, would, under the circumstances, be a waste of room.

We hope to give from time to time, translations from the French, on our fourth page, which cannot fail to be highly entertaining and valuable to our readers.

Pictorial New York Organ.—We have received a number of the *New York Organ* always a well conducted paper, and faithfully devoted to the cause of Total Abstinence specially embelished for the 4th of July with a variety of prints, chiefly bearing upon the subject of Temperance. Twelve of its sixteen pages, at least, are well filled with striking illustrations of the wretchedness of drunkenness, and the beauties of sobriety, well calculated for circulation on our 'rum-soaked' anniversary. The temperance people had better substitute it for the bunch of fire crackers which even sensible people frequently give to their children.

Married.

At Hempstead, L. I. on the 18th instant, by the Rev. Valentine Buck, Hon. James Harper, of this city, to Miss Julia A. Thorne, daughter of the late Samuel Thorne, Esq., of the former place.

In this city, Edward King, of Newport, R. I. to Mary Augusta Le Roy, daughter of Daniel Le Roy, Esq., of New York.

Died.

On Saturday afternoon, June 9th, at his late residence near Poughkeepsie, Col. Henry A. Livingston, in the 73d year of his age.

At Ceoymians, 2d instant, Sarah, relict of the late David Meade, aged 90 years. Mrs. Meade was sister of the late David Williams, one of the captors of Major Andre.

At Portage, Livingston Co., June 7, Sanford Hunt, Esq., an enterprising, useful and much esteemed member of a community with whom he had resided for more than 30 years. Mr. Hunt was a native of Connecticut, but came at an early age into Greene County, whence, in 1818, he removed to Portage, where, at the age of 72, he closed a well spent life. Hon. Washington Hunt, the present Controller of the State, is a son of the deceased.—*Alb. Eve. Journal.*

On the 13th ultimo, at Oakfield Lodge, East Cowes Park, in his 75th year. the Hon, Sir Eden Paget, G. C. B. governor of Chelsea Hospital.

Lately, at Edinburgh, Scotland, Miss Mary Ramsy, the lady on which Burns wrote the song of "Bonny Mary Ramsay.

Acknowledgments,

For the Standard, from April 12th to June 16th 1849.

475	W. Tappan,	Bradford, N. H.	$1 00
479	Israel Drake,	Potters Hollow, N. Y.	1 00
501	J. O. Ransom,	Smyrna, "	2 00
468	Webster Laing,	Waterloo, "	2 00

Poetry.

From the Christian Inquirer.

A PARABLE FOR TO-DAY.

BY THOMAS L. HARRIS.

An Old Man sat amid the mold
That heaped the church-yard lone and cold;
His limbs were dead, his eye-balls dim,
Earth had no joy or hope for him:
The clouds hung radiant o'er the West
Like golden Islands of the Blest:
Sweet May buds breathed their incense round,
Young children came with garlands crowned,
A Light, a Life through Nature came
As once from Horeb's tree of flame,
Yet, like a form of mist and snow,
The Patriarch sat amid the glow,
And from his trembling lips and pale
Breathed forth this sad, funereal wail:

"God has left the World, 'tis old and dying;
Nature, corpse-like, crumbling round me lies,
Toiling, toiling, orb to orb replying,
Peals the requiem down the darkening skies;
Nature chills and dies.

"Once the Life Divine filled all Creation:
Wisdom, Genius, Beauty dwelt below;—
Now sweeps in the last red desolation,
Earth in lightning thrill and earthquake throe,
Prescient of her woe.

"Heroes, Martyrs, Saints have all departed—
Valour, Insight, Honour, Faith lie dead;
Old Religion wanders, broken-hearted,
Driven with blows from altar, hall and shed,
Ashes on her head.

"Nations reel and fall, by Heaven deserted;
Thrones and sceptres strew the awful way—
Christ sits throned above with eyes averted;
Nought remaineth but the judgment-day—
Earth shall flee away."

A sun-eyed Youth of wondrous grace
Stood gazing on the Patriarch's face;
His form seemed wrought of tempered fire—
His eyes shot forth a warm desire;
He seemed akin to sea and star,
All things that strong and glorious are;
He claimed alike the Pen and Sword,
The thunderous blow—the lightning word:
All nature was to him divine,
Truth in each vein, like oderous wine;
Before him on the springing slope,
Stood the twin genii Love and Hope:
He wound anon a silver horn,
Whose echo rang, "Reform! Reform!"
His path lay Onward, o'er it rolled
The promise-bow of crimsoned gold;
And when the Old man paused, he cast
The Present's answer to the Past.

"Tell me not, oh, Dotard! false and hoary,
Nature lingereth in her last decline;
God is here! Earth smiles with new-born glory,
Nature blooms to-day in early prime,
Virgin-pure divine.

"That great Past wherein thy memory lingers
All was Evil,—Altar, Faith and Throne;
Time, that wrapt its shroud, with spectral fingers,
Felt no life within its pulse of stone,—
Cease thy timorous moan.

"Dreamers were its saints, its hero valour
Brutal Hate to desperation wrought;
All its wisdom fades in ashy pallor,
From the heaven-inspired Present's thought,
Man by Nature taught.

"That was night—but now flames in the Morning!
That was Godless—Heaven itself is here!
Eden comes the new-born World adorning,
All thy Past shall die and disappear,
Paradise is near.

Sternly confronting stood the twain
When, lo! a radiant stranger came:
Mortal he seemed to sensuous view,
And yet inspired, Immortal, too;
His kingly brow, serene and vast,
Shone with the light of all the Past;
And in his smile, with kindling ray,
The Future's hopeful glories lay;
His presence like a living hymn,
Awoke the "better soul" within.
Peace filled the heart and Love the eye
That felt his mild divinity;
And Youth and Age in blending sweet,
Sank listening at the Saviour's feet

"The Eternal Father poureth forth His Spirit,
So worlds and heavens and men and angels are;
From him outflow the splendours they inherit,
Love to the spirit, beauty to the star.

"There is no wreck, no waste, no retrogression
Through all the calm, God-animated vast,
Upward, still upward sweeps th' august procession,
And all the Future blooms from all the Past.

"The thrones, the principalities, the powers
Of Thought, and Love, and Virtue never die;
The outward form may change with changeful hours
The inward spirit lives immortally.

"Therefore uprear thy temples, young Reformer!
On the foundation ancient Time hath wrought:
With living faith and valour shape the corner,
From massive forms of olden worth and thought.

"Therefore, O patriarch, gray! thy treasures golden,
Yield to the fashioning hand of living youth;
And swift shall rise, all beautiful and golden
Th' eternal shrine of Freedom and of Truth.

"There Faith and Reason blend in vital union;
There the sweet harmonies of Peace arise;
And Past and Present hold divine communion
In the immortal Future of the skies!"

New York, April, 1849.

IT IS NOT ALWAYS MAY.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

The sun is bright, the air is clear,
The darting swallows soar and sing,
And from the stately elms I hear
The blue-bird prophesying Spring.

So blue yon winding river flows;
It seems an outlet from the sky,
Where waiting till the west wind blows,
The freighted clouds at anchor lie.

All things are new—the buds, the leaves,
That gild the elm trees nodding crest,
And even the birds beneath the eaves—
There are no birds in last year's nest!

And things rejoice in youth and love,
The fullness of their first delight!
And learn from the soft heavens above,
The melting tenderness of night.

Maiden that read'st this simple rhyme,
Enjoy the youth, it will not stay;
Enjoy the fragrance of thy prime,
For O, it is not always May.

Enjoy the spring of Love ond Youth,
To some good angel leave the rest,
For time will teach thee soon the truth,
There are no birds in last year's nest!

Miscellany.

THE DIAMOND NECKLACE.

FROM ABBOTT'S "LIFE OF MARIA ANTOINETTE"

About this time there occurred an event which, though apparently trivial, involved consequences of the most momentous importance. It was merely the fraudulent purchase of a necklace, by a profligate woman, in the name of the queen. The circumstances were such as to throw all France into agitation, and Europe was full of the story. "Mind that miserable affair of the necklace," said Talleyrand: "I should be nowise surprised if it should overturn the French monarchy." To understand this mysterious occurrence, we must first allude to two very important characters implicated in the conspiracy.

The Cardinal de Rohan, though one of the highest dignitaries of the Church, and of the most illustrious rank, was a young man of vain and shallow mind, of a great profligacy of character, and perfectly prodigal in squandering in ostentatious pomp, all the revenues within his reach. He had been sent an ambassador to the court of Vienna. Surrounding himself with a retinue of spendthrift gentlemen, he endeavoured to dazzle the Austrian capital with more than regal magnificence. Expending six or seven hundred thousand dollars in the course of a few months, he soon became involved in inextricable embarrassments. In the extremity of his distress, he took advantage of his official station, and engaged in smuggling with so much effrontery that he almost inundated the Austrian capital with French goods. Maria Theresa was extremely displeased, and without reserve, expressed her strong disapproval of his conduct, both as a bishop and as an ambassador. The cardinal was consequently recalled, and, disappointed and mortified, he hovered around the court of Versailles where he was treated with the utmost coldness. He was extremely anxious again to bask in the beams of royal favour. But the queen indignantly repelled all his advances. His proud spirit was nettled to the quick by his disgrace, and he was ripe for any desperate adventure to retrieve his ruined fortunes.

There was, at the same time, at Versailles, a very beautiful woman, the Countess Lamotte. She traced her lineage to the kings of France, and by her vices struggled to sustain a style of ostentatious gentility. She was consumed by an insatiable thirst for recognized rank and wealth, and she had no conscience to interfere, in the slightest degree, with any means which might lead to those results. Though somewhat notorious as a woman of pleasure, to the courtiers who flitted around the throne, the queen had never seen her face, and had seldom heard even her name. Versailles was too much thronged with such characters for any one to attract any special attention.

Maria Antoinette, in her early days, had been extremely fond of dress, and particularly of rich jewelry. She brought with her from Vienna a large number of pearls and diamonds. Upon her accession to the throne she received, of course, all the crown jewels. Louis XV. had also presented her with all the jewels belonging to his daughter, the dauphiness, who had recently died, and also with a very magnificent collar of pearls, of a single row, the smallest of which was as large as a filbert. The king, her husband, had not long before, presented her with a set of rubies and diamonds of a fine water, and with a pair of bracelets which cost forty thousand dollars. Bœhmer, the crown jeweller, had collected, at a great expense, six pear-formed diamonds, of prodigious size. They were perfectly matched, and of the finest water. They were arranged as ear-rings. He offered them to the queen for eighty thousand dollars. The young and royal bride could not resist the desire of aiding them, costly as they were, to her casket of gems. She, however, economically removed two of the diamonds which formed the tops of the clusters, and replaced them by two of her own. The jeweller consented to this arrangement, and received the reduced price of seventy-two thousand dollars, to be payed in equal installments for five years, from the private purse of the queen. Still the queen felt rather uneasy in view of her unnecessary purchase. Murmurs of extravagance began to reach her ears. Satiated with gayety and weary of jewels, as a child throws aside its playthings, Marie Antoinette lost all fondness for her costly treasures, and began to seek novelty in the utmost simplicity of attire, and in the most artless joys of rural life. Her gorgeous dresses, hung neglected in their wardrobes. Her gems, "of purest ray serene," slept in the darkness of the unopened casket. The queen had become a mother, and all those warm and noble affections which had been diffused and wasted upon frivolities, were now concentrated with intensest ardor upon her children. A new era had dawned upon Maria Antoinette. Her soul, by nature exalted, was beginning to find objects worthy of its energies. Rapidly she was groping her way from the gloom of the most wretched of all lives—a life of pleasure and self-indulgence—to the true and ennobling happiness of benevolence and self-sacrifice.

Bœhmer, the jeweller, unaware of the great change which had taken place in the character of the queen, resolved to form for her the most magnificent necklace which was ever seen in Europe. He busied himself for several years in collecting the most valuable diamonds circulating in commerce, and thus composed a necklace of several rows, whose attractions, he hoped, would be irresistible to the queen. In the purchase of these brilliant gems the jeweller had expended far more than his own fortune. For many of them he owed large sums, and his only hope of paying these debts was in effecting a sale to the queen.

Bœhmer requested Madame Campan to inform the queen what a beautiful necklace he had arranged, hoping that she might express a desire to see it. This, however, Madame Campan declined doing, as she did not wish to tempt the queen to incur the expense of three hundred and twenty thousand dollars, the price of the glittering bauble. Bœhmer, after endeavouring for some time in vain to get the gems exposed to the eye of the queen, induced a courtier high in rank to show the superb necklace to his majesty. The king, now loving the queen most tenderly, wished to see her adorned with this unparalelled ornament, and sent the case to the queen for her inspection. Maria Antoinette replied, that she had already as many beautiful diamonds as she desired: that jewels were now worn but seldom at court: that she could not think it right to encourage so great an expense for such ornaments; and that the money they would cost would be much better expended in building a man-o-war. The king concurred in this prudent decision, and the diamonds were returned to the jeweler from their majesties with this answer:—"We have more need of ships than of diamonds."

Bœhmer was in great trouble, and knew not what to do. He spent a year in visiting the other courts of Europe hoping to induce some of the sovereigns to purchase his necklace, but in vain. Almost in despair, he returned again to Versailles, and proposed the king should take it and pay for it partly in instalments and partly in life annuities. The king mentioned it again to the queen. She replied, that if his majesty wished to purchase the necklace, and keep it for their daughter, he might do so. But she declared that she herself should never be willing to wear it, for she could not expose herself to those censures for extravagance which she knew would be lavished upon her.

The jeweller complained loudly and bitterly of his misfortune. The necklace, having been exhibited all over Europe, his troubles were a matter of general conversation. After several months of great perplexity and anxiety, Bœhmer succeeded in gaining an audience of the queen. Passionately throwing himself upon his knees before her, clasping his hands and bursting into tears, he exclaimed:—

"Madame, I am disgraced and ruined if you do not purchase my necklace. I cannot outlive my misfortunes. When I go hence I shall throw myself into the river."

The queen, extremely displeased, said:—"Rise, Bœhmer! I do not like these rhapsodies; honest men have no occasion to fall upon their knees to make known their requests. If you were to destroy yourself, I should regret you as a madman in whom I had taken an interest, but I should not be responsible for that misfortune. I not only never ordered the article which causes your present despair, but whenever you have talked to me about fine collections of jewels I have told you that I should not add four diamonds to those I already possessed. I told you myself that I declined taking the necklace. The king wished to give it to me; I refused him in the same manner. Then never mention it to me again. Divide it, and endeavour to sell it piecemeal, and do not drown yourself. I am very angry with you for acting this scene of despair in my presence, and before this child. Let me never see you behave thus again. Go!"

Bœhmer, overwhelmed with confusion, retired, and the queen, oppressed with a multitude of gathering cares, for some months thought no more of him or his jewels. One day the queen was reposing listlessly upon her couch, with Madame Campan and other ladies of honour about her, when, suddenly addressing Madame Campan, she inquired:—

"Have you ever heard what poor Bœhmer did with his unfortunate necklace?"

"I have heard nothing of it since he left you," was the reply, "though I often meet him."

"I should really like to know how the unfortunate man got extricated from his embarrassments" rejoined the queen; "and when you next see him, I wish you would inquire, as if from your own interest in the affair, without any allusion to me, how he disposed of the article."

In a few days, Madame Campan met Bœhmer and, in reply to her interrogatories, he informed her that the sultan at Constantinople had purchased it for the favourite sultana. The queen was highly gratified with the good fortune of the jeweller, and yet thought it very strange how the grand seignior should have purchased his diamonds at Paris. Matters continued in this state for some time, until the baptism of the Duke d'Angoulême, Maria Antoinette's infant son. The king made his idolized boy a baptismal present of a diamond epaulette and buckles, which he purchased of Bœhmer, and directed him to deliver to the queen. As the jeweller presented them, he slipped into the queen's hand a letter in the form of a petition, containing the following expression:

"I am happy to see your majesty in the possession of the finest diamonds in Europe; and I entreat your majesty not to forget me."

The queen read this strange note aloud, again and again exclaiming, "What does the man mean? He must be insane!" She quietly lighted the note at a wax taper which was standing near her, and burned it, remarking that it was not worth keeping. Afterwards, as she reflected more upon the enigmatical nature of the communication, she deeply regretted that she had not preserved the note. She pondered the matter deeply and anxiously, and at last said to Madame Campan,

"The next time you see that man, I wish that you would tell him that I have lost all taste for diamonds; that I never shall buy another as long as I live; and that if I had any money to spare, I should expend it in purchasing lands to enlarge the ground at St. Cloud."

A few days after this, Bœhmer called upon Madame Campan at her country house, extremely uneasy at not having received any answer from the queen, and anxiously inquired if Madame Campan had no commission to him from her majesty. Madame Campan faithfully repeated to him all that the queen had requested her to say.

"But," rejoined Bœhmer, "the answer to the letter I presented to her. To whom must I apply for that?"

"To no one," was the reply; "her majesty burned your memorial without even comprehending its meaning."

"Ah, madame!" exclaimed the man, trembling with agitation, "that is impossible; the queen knows that she has money to pay me."

"Money, M. Bœhmer!" replied the lady; "your last accounts against the queen were discharged long ago."

"And are you in the secret?" he rejoined. "The queen owes me three hundred thousand dollars, and I am ruined by her neglect to pay me."

"Three hundred thousand dollars!" exclaimed Madame Campan, in amazement; "man, you have lost your senses! For what does she owe you this enormous sum?"

"For the necklace, madame," replied the jeweller, now pale and trembling with the apprehension that he had been deceived.

"The necklace again!" said Madame Campan. "How long is the queen to be teased about that necklace? Did not you yourself tell me that you had sold it at Constantinople?"

"The queen," added Bœhmer, "requested me to make the reply to all who inquired upon the subject, for she was not willing to have it known that she had made the purchase. She, however, had determined to have the necklace, and sent the Cardinal de Rohan to me to take it in her name."

"You are utterly deceived, Bœhmer," Madame Campan replied; "the queen knows nothing about your necklace. She never speaks even to the Cardinal de Rohan, and there is no man at court more strongly disliked by her."

"You may depend upon it, madame, that you are deceived yourself," rejoined the jeweller. "She must hold private interviews with the cardinal, for she gave to the cardinal six thousand dollars, which he paid me on account, and which he assured me he saw her take from the little porcelain secretary next the fire-place in her boudoir."

"Did the cardinal himself assure you of this?" inquired Madame Campan.

"Yes, madame," was the reply.

"What a detestable plot! There is not one word of truth in it; and you have been miserably deceived."

"I confess," Bœhmer rejoined, now trembling in every joint, "that I have felt very anxious about it for some time; for the cardinal assured me that the queen would wear the necklace on Whitsunday. I was, however, alarmed in seeing that she did not wear it, and that induced me to write the letter to her majesty. But what *shall* I do?"

"Go immediately to Versailles, and lay the whole matter before the king. But you have been extremely culpable, as crown jeweller, in acting in a matter of such great importance without direct orders from the king or queen, or their accredited minister."

"I have not acted," the unhappy man replied, "without direct orders. I have now in my possession all the promissory notes, signed by the queen herself; and I have been obliged to show those notes to several bankers, my creditors, to induce them to extend the time of my payments."

Instead, however, of following Madame Campan's judicious advice, Bœhmer, half delirious with solicitude, went directly to the cardinal, and informed him of all that had transpired. The cardinal appeared very much embarrassed, asked a few questions, and said but little. He, however, wrote in his diary the following memorandum: "On this day, August 3, Bœhmer went to Madame Campan's country-house, and she told him that the queen had never had his necklace, and that he had been cheated."

Bœhmer was almost frantic with terror, for the necklace was his utter and irremediable ruin. Finding no relief in his interview with the cardinal, he hastened to Little Trianon, and sent a message to the queen that Madame Campan wished him to see her immediately. The queen, who knew nothing of the occurrences we have just related, exclaimed, "That man is surely mad. I have nothing to say to him, and I will not see him." Madame Capman, however, immediately called upon the queen, for she was very much alarmed by what she had heard, and related to her the whole occurrence. The queen was exceedingly amazed and perplexed, and feared that it was some deep-laid plot to involve her in difficulties. She questioned Madame Campan very minutely in reference to every particular of the interview, and insisted upon her repeating the conversation over and over again. They then went immediately to the king, and narrated to him the whole affair. He, aware of the many efforts which had been made to traduce the character of Maria Antoinette, and to expose her to public contumely, was at once convinced that it was a treacherous plot of the cardinal in revenge for his neglect at court.

The king instantly sent a command for the cardinal to meet him and the queen in the king's closet. He was, apparently, anticipating the summons, for he, without delay, appeared before them in all the pomp of his pontifical robes, but was nevertheless so embarrassed that he could with difficulty articulate a sentence.

"You have purchased diamonds of Bœhmer?" inquired the king.

"Yes, sire," was the trembling reply.

"What have you done with them?" the king added.

"I thought," said the cardinal, "that they had been delivered to the queen.

"Who commissioned you to make this purchase?"

"The Countess Lamotte," was the reply. "She handed me a letter from the queen requesting me to obtain the necklace for her. I truly thought that I was obeying her majesty's wishes, and doing her a favour, by taking this business upon myself."

"How could you imagine, sir," indignantly interrupted the queen, "that I should have selected *you* for such a purpose, when I have not even spoken to you for eight years? and how could you suppose that I should have acted through the mediation of such a character as the Countess Lamotte?"

The cardinal was in the most violent agitation, and, apparently hardly knowing what he said, replied, "I see plainly that I have been duped. I will pay for the necklace myself. I suspected no trick in the affair, and am extremely sorry that I have had anything to do with it."

He then took a letter from his pocket directed to the Countess Lamotte, and signed with the queen's name, requesting her to secure the purchase of the necklace. The king and queen looked at the letter, and instantly pronounced it a forgery. The king then took from his own pocket a letter addressed to the jeweller Bœhmer, and, handing it to De Rohan, said,

"Are you the author of that letter?"

The cardinal turned pale, and, leaning upon his hand, appeared as though he would fall to the floor.

"I have no wish, cardinal," the king kindly replied, "to find you guilty. Explain to me this enigma. Account for all these manœuvres with Bœhmer. Where did you obtain these securities and these promissory notes, signed in the queen's name, which have been given to Bœhmer?"

The cardinal, trembling in every nerve, faintly replied, "Sire, I am too much agitated now to answer your majesty. Give me a little time to collect my thoughts."

"Compose yourself, then, cardinal," the king added. Go into my cabinet. You will there find papers, pens, and ink. At your leisure, *write* what you have to say to me."

In about half an hour the cardinal returned with a paper, covered with erasures, and alterations, and blottings, as confused and unsatisfactory as his verbal statements had been. An officer was then summoned into the royal presence, and commanded to take the cardinal into custody and conduct him to the Bastile. He was, however, permitted to visit his home. The cardinal contrived, by the way, to scribble a line upon a scrap of paper, and, catching the eye of a trusty servant, he, unobserved, slipped into his hand. It was a direction to the servant to hasten to the palace, with the utmost possible speed, and commit to the flames all of his private papers. The king also sent officers to the cardinal's palace to seize his papers and seal them for examination. By almost superhuman exertions, the cardinal's servant first arrived at the palace, which was at the distance of several miles. His horse dropped dead in the court-yard. The important documents, which might, perhaps, have shed light upon this mysterious affair, were all consumed.

The Countess Lamotte was also arrested, and held in close confinement to await her trial. She had just commenced living in a style of extraordinary splendour, and had vast sums at her disposal, acquired, no one knew how. It is difficult to imagine the excitement which this story produced all over Europe. It was represented that the queen was found engaged in a swindling transaction with a profligate woman to cheat the crown jeweller, out of gems of inestimable value, and that, being detected, she was employing all the influence of the crown to shield her own reputation by consigning the innocent cardinal to infamy. The enemies of the queen, sustained by the ecclesiastics generally, rallied around the cardinal. The king and queen, feeling that his acquittal would be the virtual condemnation of Maria Antoinette, and firmly convinced of his guilt, exerted their utmost influence, in self-defence, to bring him to punishment. Rumours and counter-rumours floated through Versailles, Paris, and all the courts of the continent. The tale was rehearsed in saloon and cafe with every conceivable addition and exaggeration, and the queen hardly knew which way to turn from the invectives which were so mercilessly showered upon her. Her lofty spirit, conscious of rectitude, sustained her in public, and there she nerved herself to appear with firmness and equanimity. But in the retirement of her boudoir she was unable to repel the most melancholy imaginings, and often wept with almost the anguish of a bursting heart.—The sunshine of her heart had now disappeared.—Each succeeding day grew darker and darker with enveloping glooms.

The trial of the cardinal continued, with various interruptions, for more than a year. Very powerful parties were formed for and against him. All France was agitated by the protracted contest. The cardinal appeared before his judges in mourning robes, but with all the pageantry of the most imposing ecclesiastical costume. He was conducted into court with much ceremony, and treated with the greatest deference. In the trying moment in which he first appeared before his judges, his courage seemed utterly to fail him. Pale and trembling with emotion, his knees bent under him, and he had to cling to a support to prevent himself from falling to the floor. Five or six voices immediately addressed him in tones of sympathy, and the president said, "His eminence the cardinal is at liberty to sit down, if he wishes it." The distinguished prisoner immediately took his seat with the members of the court. Having soon recovered in some degree his composure, he arose, and for half an hour addressed his judges, with much feeling and dignity, repeating his protestations of entire innocence in the whole affair.

At the close of this protracted trial, the cardinal was fully acquitted of all guilt by a majority of three voices. The king and queen were extremely chagrined at this result. During the trial, many insulting insinuations were thrown out against the queen which could not easily be repelled. A friend who called upon her immediately after the decision, found her in her closet weeping bitterly. "Come," said Maria, "come and weep for your queen, insulted and sacrificed by cabal and injustice." The king came in at the same moment, and said, "You find the queen much afflicted; she has great reason to be so. They were determined throughout this affair to see only an ecclesiastical prince, a Prince de Rohan, while he is, in fact, a needy fellow, and all this was but a scheme to put money into his pockets. It is not necessary to be an Alexander to cut this Gordian knot." The cardinal subsequently emigrated to Germany, where he lived in comparative obscurity till 1803, when he died.

The Countess Lamotte was brought to trial, but with a painfully different result. Dressed in the richest and most costly robes, the dissolute beauty appeared before her judges, and astonished them all by her imperturbable self-possession, her talents, and her cool effrontery. It was clearly proved that she had received the necklace; that she had sold here and there the diamonds of which it was composed, and had thus come into possession of large sums of money. She told all kinds of stories, contradicting herself in a thousand ways, accusing now one and again another as an accomplice, and unblushingly declaring that she had no intention to tell the truth, for that neither she nor the cardinal had uttered one single word before the court which had not been false. She was found guilty, and the following horrible sentence was pronounced against her; that she should be whipped upon the bare back in the court-yard of the prison; that the letter V should be burned into the flesh on each shoulder with a hot iron; and that she should be imprisoned for life. The king and queen were as much displeased with the terrible barbarity of the punishment of the countess as they were chagrined at the acquittal of the cardinal. As the countess was a descendant of the royal family, they felt that the ignominious character of the punishment was intended a stigma upon them.

As the countess was sitting one morning in the spacious room provided for her in the prison, in a loose robe, conversing gayly with some friends, and surrounded by all the appliances of wealth, an attendant appeared to conduct her into the presence of the judges. Totally unprepared for the awful doom impending over her, she rose with careless alacrity and entered the court. The terrible sentence was pronounced. Immediately terror, rage, and despair seized upon her, and a scene of horror ensued which no pen can describe. Before the sentence was finished, she threw herself upon the floor and uttered the most piercing shrieks and screams. The tumult of agitation into which she was thrown, dreadful as it was, realized not the stern rigour of the law. The executioner immediately seized her and dragged her, shrieking and struggling in a delirium of phrensy, into the court-yard of the prison. As her eye fell upon the instruments of her ignominious and brutal punishment, she seized upon one of the executioners with her teeth, and tore a mouthful of flesh from his arm. She was thrown upon the ground, her garments, with relentless violence, were stripped from her back, and the lash mercilessly cut its way into her quivering nerves, while her awful screams pierced the damp, chill air of the morning. The hot irons were brought, and simmered upon her recoiling flesh. The unhappy creature was then carried, mangled and bleeding, and half dead with torture and terror and madness, to the prison hospital. After nine months of imprisonment, she was permitted to escape. She fled to England, and was found one morning dead upon the pavements of London, having been thrown from a third story window in a midnight carousal.

Such was the story of the Diamond Necklace.—Though no one can now doubt that Maria Antoinette was perfectly innocent of the whole affair, it, at the time, furnished her enemies with weapons against her, which they used with fatal efficiency. It was then represented that the Countess Lamotte was an accomplice of the queen in the fraudulent acquisition of the necklace, and that the Cardinal de Rohan was their deluded but innocent victim. The horrible punishment of Madame Lamotte, who boasted that royal blood circulated in her veins, was understood to be in contempt of royalty, and as the expression of venomous feeling toward the queen. Both Maria Antoinette and Louis felt it as such, and were equally grieved by the acquittal of the cardinal and the barbarous punishment of the countess.

Whether the cardinal was a victim or an accomplice, is a question which never has been, and now never can be, decided. The mystery in which the affair is involved must remain a mystery until the secrets of all hearts are revealed at the great day of judgment. If he was the guilty instigator, and the poor countess but his tool and victim, how much has he yet to be accountable for in the just retributions of eternity!

The supposition, which now is almost universally entertained, is, that the crafty woman Lamotte, by forgery, and by means of an accomplice, who very much, in figure, resembled Maria Antoinette, completely duped the cardinal. His anxiety was such to be restored to the royal favour, that he eagerly caught at the bait which the wily countess presented to him. But whoever may have been the guilty ones, no one now doubts that Maria Antoinette was entirely innocent. She, however, experienced all the ignominy she could have encountered had she been involved in the deepest guilt.

Wealth of the English Aristocracy.—From a digest of Mr. Coleman's recent book on Europe, prepared for the *Boston Transcript*, we copy some interesting particulars of the wealth of several of the noblemen of Great Britain:

"Althorpe, the residence of Earl Spencer, consists of 10,000 acres, "all lying together in wood, meadow, pasture, gardens, parks, and everything in a style of superior beauty and order." His house contains sleeping rooms for seventy guests—the entries and rooms are filled with pictures and statues. A gallery of pictures, one hundred feet long, contains many of the works of the first masters. His library comprises more than 50,000 volumes, and is said to be the finest library in the world.

The Duke of Richmond's home farm (Goodwood) consists of 23,000 acres. His whole domain at Goodwood is 40,000 acres. He has a summer retreat in Scotland of between two and 300,000 acres. "Of the beauty and magnificence of this establishment," says Mr. Colman, "I cannot give you any adequate idea"—extensive parks, through which you ride for miles and miles—herds of deer, sheep, and cattle—twenty-five race horses in the stable, and a groom for each—an aviary, filled with a variety of splendid birds—fish ponds—grottos, &c.

The annual income of the Duke of Devonshire, the proprietor of Chatsworth, is said to be £200,000, or one million of dollars. This is said to be the most splendid nobleman's seat in the Kingdom. His *arboretum*, covering many acres, contains one or more specimens of every tree that can be acclimated—the kitchen garden covers twelve acres—a conservatory, 387 feet long, 117 wide, 67 high, with a carriage-way. This conservatory is covered with 7600 square feet of glass, and warmed with hot water, passing through an extent of seven miles. The fountain at Chatsworth throws the water to the height of 276 feet. Here the Duke owns 3,500 acres, and 96,000 in Derbyshire. For a minute description of these sumptuous residences, and a full account of their interior arrangements, style of living, &c., the reader is referred to the letters of Mr. Colman.

On page 108, Vol I., Mr. Colman gives an account of several noblemen whose annual income varied from £100,000 to 150,000, that is, from $500,000 to $750,000. Speaking of Lord Yarborough, he says, that his Lordship "has an indefinite number of hunters, &c., &c.," and adds—"It was the custom at this place for his Lordship, and his guests were always invited to accompany him, at nine o'clock precisely, in the evening, to visit the stables, where the hunting and riding horses were kept, which were reached by a covered passage-way from the house. The stables presented all the neatness of a house parlour, and the grooms were more than a dozen in number, all drawn up in a line to receive the company." Lord Yarborough has more than 60,000 acres in his plantation—he has 600 tenants, and you can ride thirty miles in a direct line, upon his estate. "Many of the tenants of Lord Yarborough pay 1000 and 1400 guineas a year rent, and several of them live like noblemen, keeping their dogs, horses, carriages and servants in livery."

Of the Duke of Richmond's style of living, &c., Mr. Colman says—"The service, at dinner, was always silver or gold throughout, plates and dishes, except for the jellies and puddings, and those the most beautiful china." In truth Mr. Colman's book resembles the grotto of Antiparos, the glitter of whose illuminated stalactites does not surpass the splendor of the gold, and silver, and diamonds, and pearls, which were displayed before him. In a certain sense, apart from the valuable and curious information, which it conveys, this work may, fitly enough be called—the ladies own book. The Duke has more than forty race horses and sixty grooms and hostlers. His salmon fishery at the Gordon Castle used to be let for $10,000 and now lets for £7000 per annum, or $35,000.

If the reader is desirous of knowing something of the style of surpassing splendour in which a British baronet may live, with his 500 tenants around him, he will be abundantly gratified, by turning to Mr. Colman's account of Sir Charles Morgan's establishment at Tredegar, vol. 1., p. 293. Then let him turn to the account of Woburn Abbey, p 310, the residence of the Duke of Bedford, which, says Mr. C., "in its magnificence distances anything I have yet seen, and, next to the royal palace, may be considered the acme of elegance and grandeur."

After alluding to a court ball, at which one lady wore £60 000, or $300,000 worth of diamonds, Mr. Colman remarks—"The Duchess of Roxburgh whom I do not know, appeared most splendidly; and well she might, as the annual income of the Duke is stated to be £300,000."

Upon this point these statements may suffice.—There are very, very few of our wealthiest men, whose entire estate is equal to the income of this nobleman, for a single year.

In the eyes of these noblemen, our "merchant princes" must appear to be a set of beggarly fellows. The comparative estimate of wealth is well exhibited in the remark of John Jacob Astor, of New York who is reported to have said, that riches were not essential to happiness, and that he who had only $500,000, was as well off as if he were a rich man.

Mr. Colman's accounts of the poverty and misery of Ireland are not surprising. Too many years we have heard this story from every traveller who has visited that unhappy country. His statements of the squalid poverty and intolerable filth of Edinburgh and Dundee—*bonnie Dundee*—are rather startling.

In connection with the poverty of Ireland, Mr. Colman presents an "extract from the probates of fortunes, left by Irish bishops, laid before the House of Commons, 1832"—meaning bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose sees were in Ireland. The aggregate wealth of eleven deceased bishops, amounted to one million eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling—or nine millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. The wealthiest of these descendants of poor St. Peter was Agar, bishop of Cashel, whose estate is set down at £400,000, or two millions of dollars."

Oatmeal and Scotch Porridge.—The use of oatmeal as a large and regular article of human diet is generally ridiculed in many parts of England as vulgar, coarse, uncleanly, and tending to generate itch and other cutaneous eruptions. But many of the worthies who join in the ridicule never saw oatmeal, and know nothing at all about it; and few, if any, of even the best informed of them ever gave it a fair trial, or saw it fairly tried, or possess a competent or even rudimental knowlege of its real nature and tendencies. The ridicule of oatmeal is simply an outburst of blind prejudice and egregious ignorance, most disgraceful to Englishmen and the nineteenth century. Dr. Johnson, who knew as much about nutrition and organic chemistry as about the planet of Neptune, might be excused for his jibes against Scotchmen's use of oats; but farmers of the present day, who possess such brilliant opportunities of understanding the comparative nutritional values of the field plants of Britain, will be utterly inexcusable, if they do not promptly make all Englishmen aware that oats are the best of British cereals. The analysis by Mr. Norton demonstrates the preëminent value of oats at once to gratify the olfactories, to please the palate, to build up the bones, and to give body and vigour to the whole animal system. The thews and muscle of a whole nation—the brawny forms, in particular, of the ploughman of the Scottish Lowlands, and the mountaineers of the Scottish Highlands—are circumstantial witnesses that these analyses are correct; and practical testimonies without number, by the most unexceptional observers, come in to give corroboration. One statist, for example, whose leanings are chiefly on the side of England, says, "Oatmeal, when it is sufficiently diluted with any sort of liquid, is known to be a laxative aperient, wholesome, and at the same time a strengthening food for those engaged in hard labour. Engineers who superintend the excavation of canals, have assured the reporter that those labourers who lived entirely upon oatmeal and milk did a third more work than those who used butcher's meat, beer, and spirits. All of the former saved money, while many of the latter involved themselves in debt. As this sort of work is done by the piece, it affords a fair comparison, not only of the wholesomeness of oatmeal in promoting health, but of its power in supplying labour." Oatmeal, no doubt, has a tendency to produce overheating and repletion in the system, and may therefore be sometimes one of several causes of cutaneous eruptions; but it possesses this tendency in common with butcher meat, and with every other strong aliment—and for exactly the same reason, that it is very eminently nutritious—and may be deprived of it by exactly the same means, the free, occasional or moderate constant use of cruciferous pot-herbs, succulent roots, and other anti-scorbutic vegetable aliments. Whatever argument can be employed against a Scotchman's use of oatmeal, may just as well be employed against an Englishman's use of beef. Most porridge-eaters are to the full as sound-skinned as butcher-meat eaters; and any who are otherwise, owe their sufferings to filthy habits, foul air, or some similar cause, and not at all to their use of oatmeal. "The Scotch themselves assert," says Martin Doyle—and surely they ought to know a thousand times more about the matter than those English wiseacres, who cannot distinguish oatmeal from saw dust—"that persons whose diet is composed principally of oatmeal and sweet milk, enjoy better health and a more vigorous frame, and are more abundantly cased with flesh, than those who deal at the shambles; and some even go so far as to insinuate pretty broadly, that porridge is one of the principal causes of the fine spirit of philosophical inquiry, mental research, and prudential conduct, which distinguish the Caledonians." And though Doyle is not visionary or partisan enough to take a side on this curious latter question, he sagaciously "concludes that the food which is found to contribute most to the perfect sanitary condition of the body, must lead in no small degree to sharpen and invigorate the intellectual faculties."—*Rural Cyclopædia.*

The Condition of Ireland.—"The address to the public from the Relief Association of the Society of Friends in Ireland" is a document of the deepest and most painful interest. With an almost monumental brevity and emphasis it records the prostration of a whole people, the gigantic efforts made for their relief, and the utter failure of those efforts to effect any permanent good. Such a testimony coming from such a quarter is entitled to the gravest attention. It is true we no longer need any one to tell us that gratuitous issues of food, barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, will not regenerate a nation, repair its disasters, and reform its institutions. It is no news to be told, what might once have been an incredible fact, that ten millions of public money, besides a million and a half contributed by private benevolence, and administered by private activity, have been spent in little more than three years, leaving Ireland poorer and more helpless than before. But the document before us says more than this. It relates that the more prospective efforts of the association have disappointed its hopes. "Feeling the demoralizing tendency of such extensive almsgiving," say the authors of the address, "we have endeavoured to encourage industry. We have made grants in aid of local manufactures; have supported industrial schools; have advanced money in loans for the assistance of fisheries, and in a few cases with highly gratifying results. In order to encourage the culture of green crops, which might prove some substitute for the potato, we have distributed nearly 200,000lb weight of turnip, carrot, parsnip, cabbage, and other such seeds; and we also undertook the temporary cultivation of about 800 statute acres of land in green crops by spade labour. Of all the society's labours, however, it is shortly after said, "We are saddened by the conviction that with very few exceptions, no permanent good has been done. We feel that the condition of the country has not improved, that her prospects are even worse, because her people have less hope." And then follows what has become the stereotype description of pauperism, bankruptcy, and despair, repeated by every successive witness on Irish affairs. The extensive intercourse which the association has had with all parts of the country entitles its opinions to the greatest respect. The address, drawn up before the authors were aware of the proposed measures of government, is a strong and independent testimony to their importance. It insists on security to the cultivator, the utmost freedom in the sale or transfer of land, the passage of those estates whose proprietors are irretrieveably ruined into other hands, or the sale of portions in order to pay off the incumbrance now lying on the whole, powers to sell land and recover debts without the ruinous delays and heavy costs which these processes at present involve, and some protection against the ravages of pauperism, as necessary to that improved cultivation of the soil which is now the chief hope for Ireland. These objects, we trust, will be attained by the bill which fixes the respective *maxima* of rates on the electoral division, the union, and the island; and by the proposed commission for undertaking the sale of encumbered estates. The date of the address, which, though only just published, has been drawn up some time, accounts